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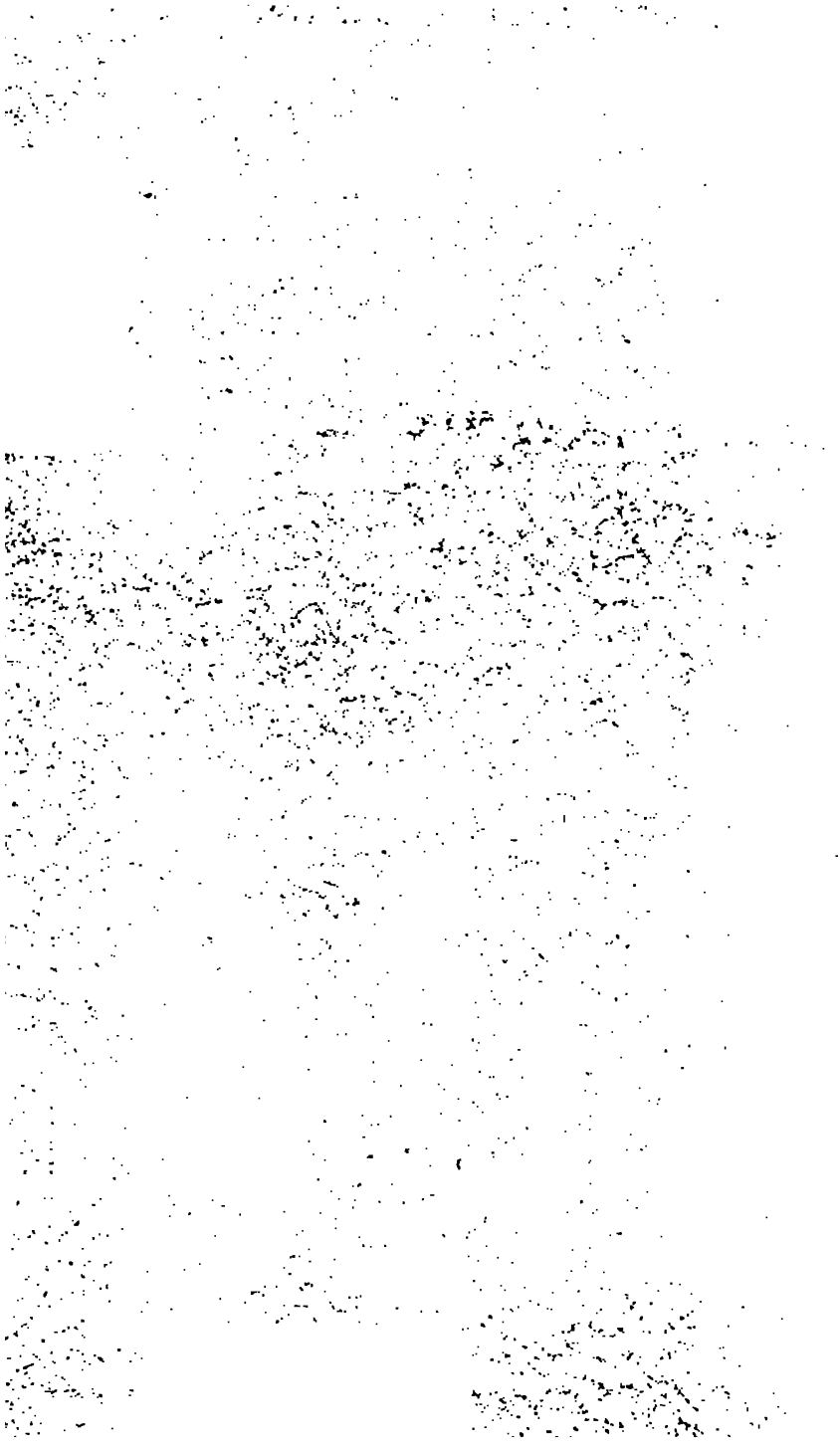
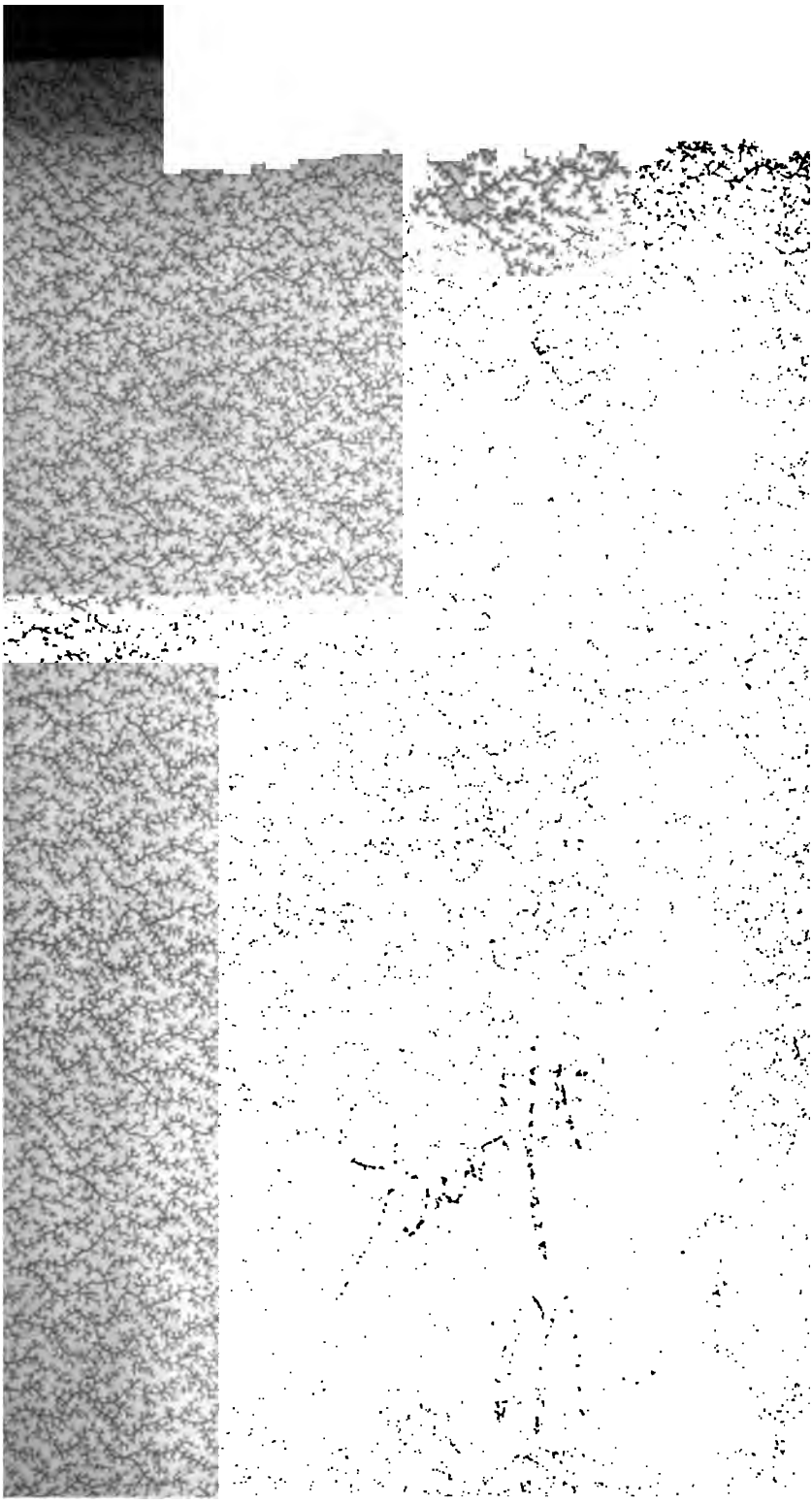
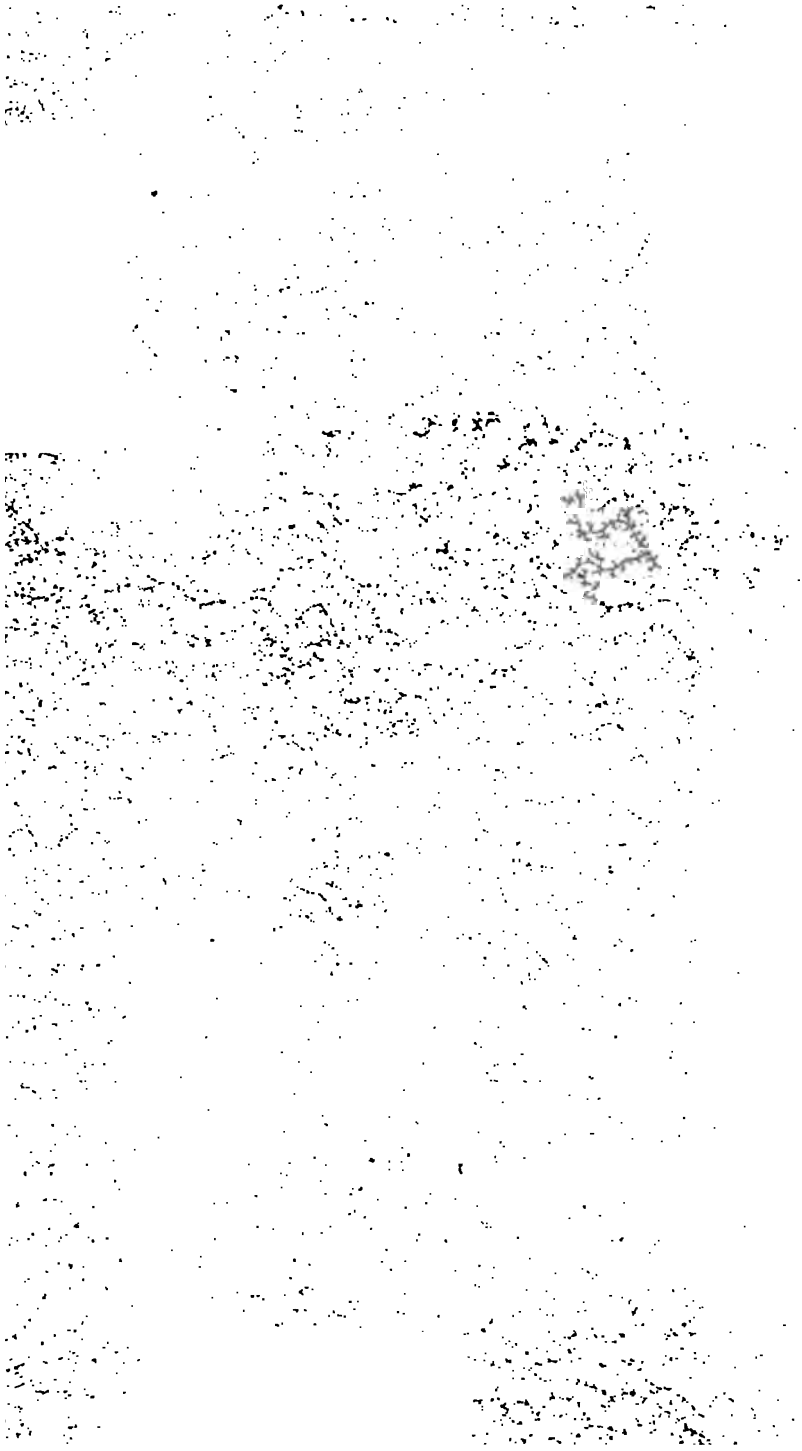
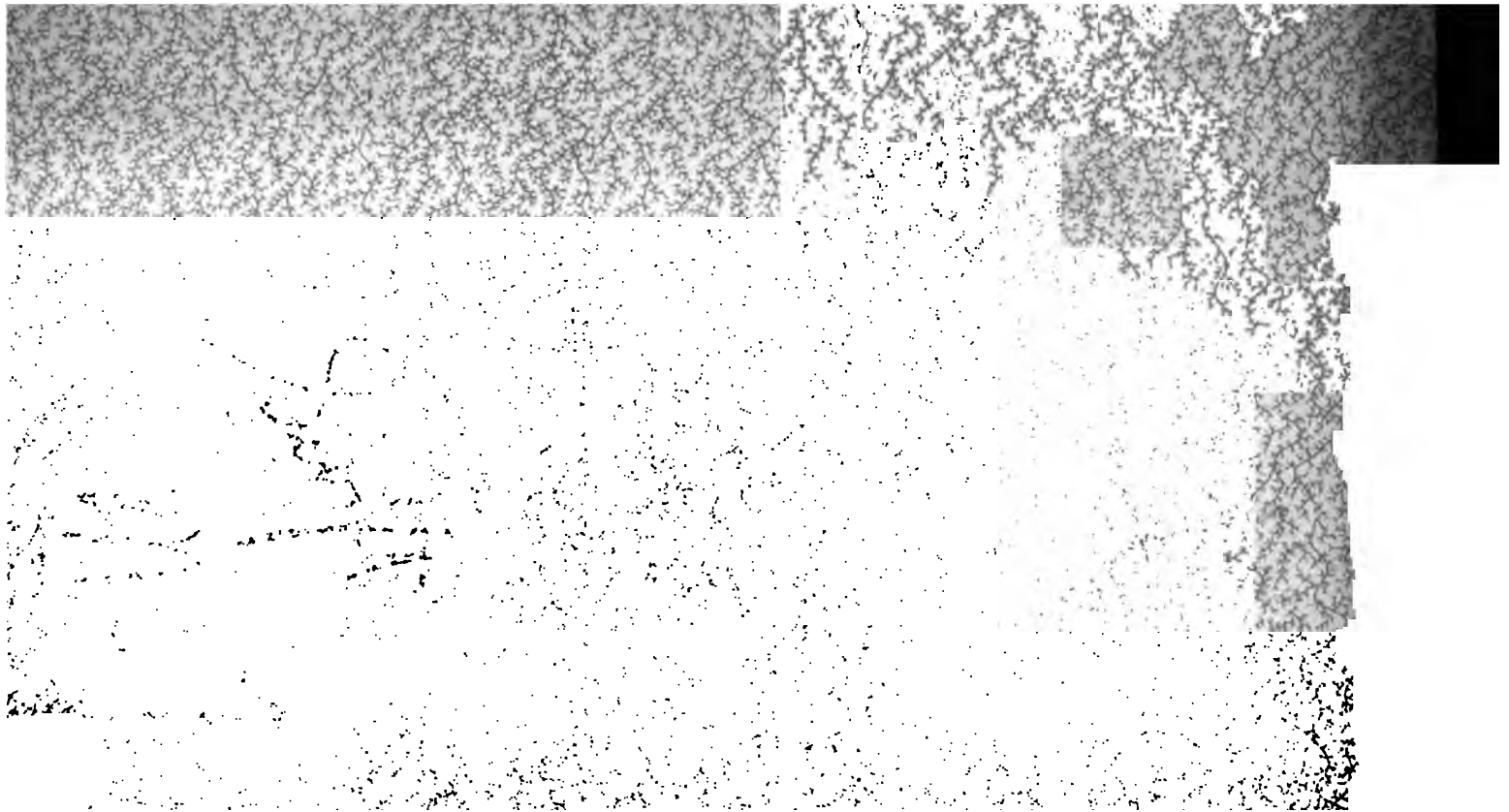








THE

WORKS

OF

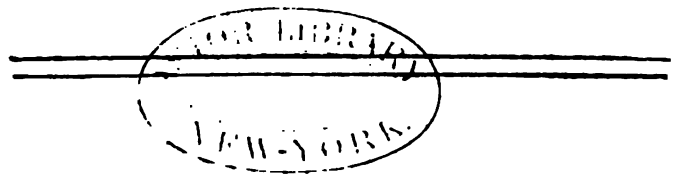
Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

VOLUME XIV.

WITH

An INDEX to the WHOLE.



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A verſe

A very friendly correſpondence having been carried on for many years between Dr. KING, archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and Dr. SWIFT, D. S. P. D. it may be proper to prefix ſome account of his Grace before the following letters, for which we ſhall make no apology.

WILLIAM KING was born at Antrim *the firſt day of May*, 1650, *and was deſcended from an ancient family of the houſe of* Burras *in the north of* Scotland, *from whence his father removed in the reign of king* Charles I, *to avoid engaging in the ſolemn league and covenant; brought his effects, and ſettled his family in the north of* Ireland, *where the above* William *was born, and had the pleaſure of living to ſee his ſon promoted to the biſhoprick of* Derry.

In 1662, *he was ſent to a* Latin *ſchool in the county of* Tyrone, *and the* 18*th of* April, 1667, *entered in the univerſity of* Dublin. *In* 1670, *he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts; in* 1673, *that of Maſter; and the ſame year was ordained a Deacon by Dr.* Moſſom, *biſhop of* Derry.

On the 26*th of* April, 1674, *he was ordained a prieſt by Dr.* John Parker, *archbiſhop of* Tuam. *In* 1688, *he was conſtituted Preſident of the Chapter of* St. Patrick's, Dublin; *and, on the* 26*th of* January *following, was elected Dean by the Chapter. In* 1689, *he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was promoted to the biſhoprick of* Derry *on the* 9*th of* January, *O. S.* 1690, *and was conſecrated in* Chriſt Church, Dublin, *the* 25*th of the ſaid Month. Upon the promotion of Dr.* Narciſſus Marſh, *archbiſhop of* Dublin, *to the archbiſhoprick of* Armagh, *Dr.* King *was tranſlated from* Derry *to the ſee of* Dublin, *the* 11*th of* March, 1702. *His grace, in the reign of* George I, *was four different times one of the Lords Juſtices of* Ireland, *for his great loyalty and attachment to the proteſtant religion, and the houſe of* Hanover. *He died at the archiepiſcopal palace at* St. Sepulcher's, Dublin, *on the* 8*th of* May, 1729, *having entered into the* 80*th year of his age, and was buried on the north ſide of* Donnybrook *church, near* Dublin, *without any monument, tomb, or inſcription,*

inſcription, as he had directed in his life-time.

His private charities were very ample and conſiderable; but ſo cautiouſly and ſecretly diſpenſed, that it is impoſſible to give a particular account of them. After he was tranſlated to the ſee of Dublin, *he repaired and adorned the palace of* St. Sepulcher's, *which was in a ruinous condition, by expending above* 3000l. *on improvements, and erected a court-houſe for his archiepiſcopal manor at his own charge. He purchaſed from the late lord* Roſs, *and others, many impropriate tythes, to add to the livings of the clergy in his dioceſe to make them glebes, and for lectureſhips.*

He gave in his life-time 500l. *to the univerſity of* Dublin, *towards founding a divinity lecture for the benefit of thoſe who intended to enter into holy orders; and deviſed* 500l. *more to purchaſe a further maintenance and endowment for the ſaid lecture. He alſo deviſed* 150l. *to the poor of the city of* Dublin. *He gave* 500l. *in his life-time to the* Blue-Coat *hoſpital in* Dublin, *and* 500l. *to the fund ariſing from the application of the firſt fruits, for*

purchaſing glebes and impropriate tythes for the increaſe of poor vicarages.

His hoſpitality was ſuitable to the dignity of his character and ſtation, and the whole courſe of his converſation innocent, chearful, and improving; for he lived in the conſtant practice of every Chriſtian virtue that could adorn a publick, or private life.

In 1687, Peter Manby, *dean of* Londonderry, *having publiſhed at* Dublin, *in quarto, a pamphlet, intituled,* The conſiderations which obliged *Peter Manby,* dean of *Londonderry,* to embrace the Catholic religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace Dr. *Francis Marſh,* the Lord Primate of *Ireland*; *Dr.* King *immediately wrote an anſwer. Mr.* Manby, *encouraged by the court, and aſſiſted by the moſt learned champions of the church of* Rome, *publiſhed a reply under this title,* A reformed Catechiſm, in two Dialogues concerning the *Engliſh* Reformation, *&c.* in Reply to Mr. *King's* Anſwer, *&c. Our author ſoon rejoined in* A Vindication of the Anſwer. *Mr.* Manby *dropped the controverſy, but diſperſed a looſe ſheet of paper artfully writ, with this title,* A Letter

ter to a Friend, ſhewing the vanity of this opinion, that every man's ſenſe and reaſon are to guide him in matters of faith. *Our author ſoon publiſhed his anſwer. In* 1689, *our author was twice confined in the caſtle of* Dublin, *by order of king* James II, *and the ſame year commenced doctor of divinity. In* 1690, *he was advanced to the ſee of* Derry. *In* 1691, *he publiſhed at* London, *in quarto,* The ſtate of the proteſtants of *Ireland* under the late king *James's* government, *&c.* "*A hiſtory,* "*ſays biſhop* Burnet, *as truly, as it is finely* "*written.*" *He had by him at his death atteſted vouchers of every particular fact alledged in this book, which are now in the hands of his relations. In* 1693, *his lordſhip finding the great number of proteſtant diſſenters in his dioceſe of* Derry, *increaſed by a vaſt addition of colonies from* Scotland, *in order to perſuade them to conformity to the eſtabliſhed church, publiſhed* A diſcourſe concerning the inventions of men in the worſhip of God. *Mr.* Joſeph Boyſe, *a diſſenting miniſter, wrote an anſwer. The biſhop anſwered Mr.* Boyſe. *The latter replied. The biſhop rejoined. In* 1702, *he publiſhed at* Dublin, *in quarto,* his cele-

brated treatiſe De Origine Mali. *Mr.* Edmund Law, *M. A. Fellow of* Chriſt's-College, *ſince maſter of* Peter-houſe *in* Cambridge, *afterwards publiſhed a complete tranſlation of this, with very valuable notes, in quarto. In the ſecond edition he has inſerted, by way of notes, a large collection of the author's papers on the ſame ſubject, which he had received from his relations after the publication of the former edition. Our author, in this excellent treatiſe, hath many curious obſervations. He aſſerteth and proves that there is more moral good in the earth than moral evil. There are ten good acts, ſays he, done by thoſe we call bad men, for one ill one. A Sermon by our author, preached at* Dublin *in* 1709, *was publiſhed under the title of,* Divine predeſtination and fore-knowledge conſiſtent with the freedom of man's will. *This was attacked by* Anthony Collins, *Eſq*; *in a pamphlet, intituled,* A vindication of the divine attributes; in ſome remarks on the archbiſhop of *Dublin's* Sermon, intituled *Divine predeſtination, &c. He publiſhed likewiſe,* A diſcourſe concerning the conſecration of churches; ſhewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the grounds of that office.

LET-

LETTERS

FROM

Dr. SWIFT to Dr. KING,

Lord Primate and Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

LETTER I.

To his grace the Lord Archbiſhop of DUBLIN.

Dublin, Caſtle, July 16, 1700.

My LORD,

I WAS ſeveral times to wait on your lordſhip at your lodgings; but you were either abroad, or ſo engaged, that I could not be permitted the honour to attend you. I have an humble requeſt to your lordſhip, that you will pleaſe to excuſe me if I cannot be at the triennial viſitation; for my * lord and lady con-

* Earl of BERKELEY, then one of the lords juſtices of *Ireland*.

tinually reſiding at the lodge, I am obliged to a conſtant attendance there.

I am, with all reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER II.

My LORD, *Trim, Dec.* 31, 1704.

I DID intend to have waited on your grace before you went for *England*; but hearing your voyage is fixed for the firſt opportunity of the wind, I could not forbear giving you a few minutes interruption, which I hope your grace will believe to be without any other deſign than that of ſerving you. I believe your grace may have heard, that I was in *England* laſt winter, when the dean and chapter of *Chriſt-*

Chriſt-Church had, I think, with great wiſdom and diſcretion, choſen a moſt malicious, ignorant, and headſtrong creature to repreſent them; wherein your grace cannot juſtly tax their prudence, ſince the * cauſe they are engaged in is not otherwiſe to be ſupported. And, I do aſſure your grace (which perhaps others may have been cautious in telling you) that they have not been without ſucceſs. For, not only the general run in *Doctors-Commons* was wholely on their ſide, which my lord biſhop of *Cloyne* † obſerved as well as I; but, that little inſtrument of their's did uſe all his power to miſrepreſent your grace, and your cauſe, both in town and city, as far as his narrow ſphere could reach. And he ſpared not to ſay, that your grace had perſonal reſentment againſt him; that you ſought his ruin, and threatened him with it. And I remember, at a great man's table, who hath

* A law ſuit between the archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and the dean and chapter of the cathedral of *Chriſt Church*, *Dublin*, about his right of viſiting them, which was given in favour of his grace.

† Dr. CHARLES CROW.

as

as much influence in *England* as any ſubject can well have, after dinner came in a maſter in chancery, whom I had before obſerved to be a principal perſon in *Doctors-Commons*, when your grace's cauſe was there debating; and, upon occaſion of being there, fell into diſcourſe of it, wherein he ſeemed wholely an advocate for *Chriſt-Church*; for all his arguments were only a chain of miſinformations, which he had learned from the ſame hand; inſomuch, as I was forced to give a character of ſome perſons, which otherwiſe I ſhould have ſpared, before I could ſet him right, as I alſo did in the affair of the late dean of *Derry*, which had been told with ſo many falſhoods and diſadvantages to your grace, as it is hard to imagine.

I humbly preſume to ſay thus much to your grace, that knowing the prejudices that have been given, you may more eaſily remove them, which your preſence will infallibly do.

I would alſo beg of your grace to uſe ſome of your credit towards bringing to a good

a good iſſue the promiſe the queen made, at my lord biſhop of *Cloyne's* interceſſion, to remit the firſt fruits and tenths of the clergy; unleſs I ſpeak ignorantly, for want of information, and that it be a thing already done. But what I would mind your grace of is, that the crown rent ſhould be added, which is a great load upon many poor livings, and would be a conſiderable help to others. And, I am confident, with ſome reaſon, that it would be eaſily granted, being, I hear, under a thouſand pounds a year, and the queen's grant for *England* being ſo much more conſiderable than our's can be at beſt. I am very certain, that if the biſhop of *Cloyne* had continued to ſollicit it in *England*, it would eaſily have paſſed; but his lordſhip giving it up wholely to the duke of *Ormond* *, I believe it hath not been thought of ſo much as it ought. I humbly beg your grace's pardon for the haſte and hurry of this, occaſioned by that of the poſt, which is not very regular in this country; and imploring your bleſſing, and praying to God for your good voyage,

* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, and return, I humbly kiſs your grace's hands, and remain,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER III.

My LORD, *London, Feb.* 5, 1707-8.

I HAVE been above a month expecting the repreſentation your grace was pleaſed to promiſe to ſend me, which makes me apprehend your grace hath been hindered by what you complained of, the clergy's backwardneſs in a point ſo very neceſſary to their ſervice: And, it is time ill loſt at this juncture, while my lord * lieutenant is here, and in great credit at court, and would perhaps be

* THOMAS HERBET, earl of *Pembroke*.

more

more than ordinarily ready to ſerve the church in *Ireland*. If I have no directions from your grace by the end of this month, I ſhall think of my return to *Ireland* againſt the 25th of *March*, to endeavour to be choſen to the living of St. *Nicholas*, as I have been encouraged to hope; but would readily return at a week's warning to ſollicit that affair with my lord lieutenant while he ſtays here, or, in any other manner your grace will pleaſe to direct.

Your grace knows long before this, that Dr. *Mills* is biſhop of *Waterford*. The court and archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were ſtrongly engaged for another perſon, not much ſuſpected in *Ireland*, any more than the choice already made was, I believe, either here or there.

The two houſes are ſtill buſy in lord *Peterborough's* * affair, which ſeems to be little more than an amuſement, which it is conceived might at this time be ſpared, conſidering how ſlow we are ſaid to be

* See his character in Vol. VII.

in

in our preparations, which, I believe, is the only reaſon why it was talked the other day about the town, as if there would be ſoon a treaty of peace. There is a report of my lord *Galway's* death, but it is not credited. It is a perfect jeſt to ſee my lord *Peterborough* reputed as great a whig as any in *England*, abhorred by his own party, and careſſed by the tories.

The great queſtion, whether the number of men in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, was but 8600, when there ought to have been 29,600, was carried on Tueſday in the affirmative againſt the court, without a diviſion which was occaſioned by Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* Oratory. It ſeems to have been no party queſtion, there being many of both glad and ſorry for it. The court hath not been fortunate in their queſtions this ſeſſion; and, I hear ſome of both parties expreſſing contrary paſſions upon it. I tell your grace bare matters of fact, being not inclined to make reflexions; and, if I were, I could not

not tell what to make, ſo odly people are ſubdivided.

I am, my LORD,

Your Grace's moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER IV.

My LORD, *London, June* 10, 1708.

I SENT your grace a long letter ſeveral weeks ago, incloſed in one to the dean *. I know not whether it came to your hands, having not ſince been honoured with your commands. I believe I told your grace that I was directly adviſed by my lord *Sund*—, my lord *Somers*, Mr. *Southwell*, and others, to apply to † my lord treaſurer, in behalf of the clergy of *Ireland*, and lord *Sunderland* undertook to bring me to lord treaſurer, which was put off for ſome time on account of the invaſion. For, it is the method here of

* Dr. *Sterne*. † Earl of *Godolphin*.

great

great miniſters, when any public matter is in hand, to make it an excuſe for putting off all private application. I deferred it ſome time longer, becauſe I had a mind my lord *Sunderland* ſhould go along with me; but either the one or the other was always buſy, or out of the way; however, his lordſhip had prepared lord treaſurer, and engaged him (as he aſſured me) to think well of the matter, and the other day lord treaſurer appoined me to attend him. He took me into a private room, and I told him my ſtory, that I was commanded by your grace, and deſired by ſome other biſhops to uſe what little credit I had to ſollicit (under the direction of my lord lieutenant) the remitting of the firſt fruits, which, from the favourable repreſentation of his lordſhip to the queen, about four years ago, the clergy were encouraged to hope it would be granted: That I had been told it might be of uſe, if ſome perſons could be admitted to his preſence, at his uſual times of being attended, in order to put him in mind; for the reſt, they relied entirely on his excellency's good office, and his lordſhip's

lordſhip's diſpoſitions to favour the church. He ſaid in anſwer, he was paſſive in this buſineſs: That he ſuppoſed my lord lieutenant would engage in it, to whom, if I pleaſed, he would repeat what I had ſaid. I replied, I had the honour of being well known to his excellency, that I intended to aſk his leave to ſollicit this matter with his lordſhip, but had not mentioned it yet, becauſe I did not know whether I had credit enough to gain that acceſs he was now pleaſed to honour me with: That upon his lordſhip's leave to attend him, ſignified to me by the earl of *Sunderland*, I went to inform his excellency not doubting his conſent, but did not find him at home, and therefore ventured to come, but not knowing how his excellency might underſtand it, I begged his lordſhip to ſay nothing to my lord lieutenant, until I had the honour to wait on him again. This my lord treaſurer agreed to, and entering on the ſubject, told me, that, ſince the queen's grant of the firſt fruits here, he was confident, not one clergyman in *England* was a ſhilling the better. I told him I thought it lay

under ſome incumbrances; he ſaid it was true; but beſide, that it was wholely abuſed in the diſtribution, that as to thoſe in *Ireland*, they were an inconſiderable thing, not above 1000*l.* or 1200*l.* a year, which was almoſt nothing for the queen to grant upon two conditions. Firſt, That it ſhould be well diſpoſed of. And ſecondly, That it ſhould be well received with due acknowledgements; in which caſes he would give his conſent, otherwiſe, to deal freely with me, he never would. I ſaid as to the firſt, that I was confident the biſhops would leave the methods of diſpoſing it entirely to her majeſty's breaſt; as to the ſecond, her majeſty, and his lordſhip might count upon all the acknowledgements, that the moſt grateful and dutiful ſubjects could pay to a prince. That I had the misfortune to be altogether unknown to his lordſhip, elſe I ſhould preſume to aſk him whether he underſtood any particular acknowledgements? He replied, by acknowledgements, I do not mean any thing under their hands, but I will ſo far explain myſelf to tell you, I mean better acknowledgements

ledgements than thoſe of the clergy of *England*. I then begged his lordſhip to give me his advice, what ſort of acknowledgements he thought fit for the clergy to make, which I was ſure would be of mighty weight with them. He anſwered, I can only ſay again, ſuch acknowledgements as they ought. We had ſome other diſcourſe of leſs moment, and after licence to attend him on occaſion, I took my leave. I tell your grace theſe particulars, in his very words, as near as I can recollect, becauſe I think them of moment, and I believe your grace may think them ſo too. I told *Southwell* all that paſſed, and we agreed in our comments, which I deſired him now to inform you. He ſet out for *Ireland* this morning: I am reſolved to ſee my lord *Sund*— in a day or two, and relate what my lord treaſurer ſaid (as he hath commanded me to do) and perhaps I may prevail on him to let me know his lordſhip's meaning, to which I am prepared to anſwer, as Mr. *Southwell* will let you know. At evening, the ſame day, I attended my lord lieutenant, and deſired to know what progreſs he

had made, and at the ſame time propoſed that he would give me leave to attend lord treaſurer, only as a common ſollicitor to refreſh his memory. I was very much ſurprized at his anſwer, that the matter was not before the treaſurer, but entirely with the queen, and therefore it was needleſs; upon which I ſaid nothing of having been there. He ſaid he had writ lately to your grace, on account of what was done; that ſome progreſs was made, that they put it off becauſe it was a time of war, but that he had ſome hopes it would be done; but this is only ſuch an account as his excellency thinks fit to give, although I ſend it your grace by his orders. I hope, that in his letters he is fuller. My lord treaſurer on the other hand aſſured me, he had the papers (which his excellency denied) and talked of it as a matter that had long lain before him, which ſeveral perſons in great employments aſſure me is and muſt be true. Thus your grace ſees, that I ſhall have nothing more to do in this matter, further, than purſuing the cold ſcent of aſking his excellency once a month, how it goeth

goeth on? Which, I think, I had as good forbear, ſince it will turn to little account. All I can do is to engage my lord *Sunderland's* intereſt with my lord treaſurer whenever it is brought before him, or to hint it to ſome other perſons of power and credit, and likewiſe to endeavour to take off that ſcandal the clergy of *Ireland* lie under, of being the reverſe of what they really are, with reſpect to the revolution, loyalty to the queen, and ſettlement to the crown; which is here the conſtruction of the word tory.

I deſign to tell my lord treaſurer, that this being a matter my lord lieutenant hath undertaken, he doth not think it proper I ſhould trouble his lordſhip; after which, recommending it to his goodneſs, I ſhall forbear any further mention. I am ſenſible how lame and tedious an account this is, and humbly beg your grace's pardon; but I ſtill inſiſt, that if it had been ſollicited four years ago by no abler a hand than my own, while the duke of *Ormond* was in *Ireland*, it might have been done in a month; and, I believe, it may be ſo ſtill, if his ex-

cellency lays any weight of his credit upon it; otherwiſe, God knows when. For myſelf, I have nothing more to do here but to attend my lord lieutenant's motions, of whoſe return we are very uncertain, and to manage ſome perſonal affairs of my own. I beg the continuance of your grace's favour, and your bleſſing.

And am with all reſpect,

Your grace's moſt obedient, &c.

LETTER V.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 9, 1708.

YOUR grace's letter of *September* 7, found me in *Kent*, where I took the opportunity to retire, during my lord *Pembroke's* abſence with his new lady (who are both expected to-morrow). I went afterwards, to *Epſom*, and returned but yeſterday: This was the cauſe of my ſo long omiting to acknowledge your letter. I am ready to agree with your grace, that very wrong repreſentations are made of things and perſons here, by people

people who reſide on this ſide but a ſhort time, converſe at ſecond or third hand, and on their return make a vanity of knowing more than they do. This I have obſerved myſelf in *Ireland*, even among people of ſome rank and quality; and I believe your grace will proceed on much better grounds, by truſting to your own wiſdom and experience of things, than ſuch intelligence.

I ſpoke formerly all I knew of the twentieth parts, and whatever Mr. *D*—— hath ſaid in his letters about ſtaying until a peace, I do aſſure your grace, is nothing but words. However, that matter is now at end. There is a new world here, and yet I agree with you, that if there be an inter-regnum, it will be the propereſt time to addreſs my lord treaſurer; and I ſhall ſecond it with all the credit I have, and very openly; and I know not (if one difficulty lie in the way) but it may prove a lucky juncture.

On my return from *Kent* (the night of the prince's * death) I ſtaid a few days in

* GEORGE prince of *Denmark*, huſband of queen ANNE.

town before I went to *Epſom*: I then viſited a certain great man, and we entered very freely into diſcourſe upon the preſent juncture. He aſſured me there was no doubt now of the ſcheme holding about the admiralty, the government of *Ireland*, and preſidency of the council; the diſpoſition whereof your grace knoweth as well as I; and, although I care not to mingle public affairs with the intereſt of ſo private a perſon as myſelf, yet, upon ſuch a revolution, not knowing how far my friends may endeavour to engage me in the ſervice of a new government, I would beg your grace to have favourable thoughts of me on ſuch an occaſion, and to aſſure you that no proſpect of making my fortune, ſhall ever prevail on me to go againſt what becometh a man of conſcience and truth, and an entire friend to the eſtabliſhed church. This I ſay, in caſe ſuch a thing ſhould happen, for my own thoughts are turned another way, if the earl of *Berkley's* journey to *Vienna* holds, and the miniſtry will keep their promiſe of making me the queen's ſecretary; by which I ſhall be

be out of the way of parties, until it ſhall pleaſe God I have ſome place to retire to, a little above contempt: Or, if all fail, until your grace and the dean of *St. Patrick's* ſhall think fit to diſpoſe of that poor town-living * in my favour.

Upon this event of the prince's death, the contention deſigned with the court about a ſpeaker is dropt, and all agree in Sir *Richard Onſlow*, which is looked on as another argument for the ſcheme ſucceeding. This I had from the ſame hand.

As to a comprehenſion which your grace ſeems to doubt an intention of, from what was told me, I can ſay nothing; doubtleſs, it muſt be intended to come to that at laſt, if not worſe; but I believe at preſent, it was meant, that there ſhould be a conſent to what was endeavoured at in your parliament laſt ſeſſion.

I thought to have writ more largely to your grace, imagining I had much matter in my head, but it fails, or is not convenient at preſent. If the ſcheme holds, I ſhall make bold to tell your grace my thoughts as formerly, under cover, becauſe

* St. NICHOLAS.

I believe

I believe there will be a great deal to be thought of and done. A little time may produce a great deal. Things are now in great ſuſpence both at home and abroad. The parliament, we think, will have no prorogation. There is no talk of the duke of *Marlborough's* return yet. Speculative people talk of a peace this winter, of which I can form no proſpect, according to our demands.

I am, my Lord, your Grace's

Moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

Your grace will pleaſe to direct your commands to me at *St. James's* coffee-houſe, in *St. James's-ſtreet.*

LETTER VI.

My Lord, *London, Nov.* 30, 1708.

I WROTE to you about a fortnight ago, after my return from the country, and gave you ſome account of an intended change at court, which is now finiſhed. Care was taken to put lord *Pembroke* in mind

mind of the firſt fruits before he went out of his office; but it was needleſs, for his excellency had it at heart, and the thing is done, of which, I ſuppoſe, you have an account. You know who goes over chaplain; the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral other biſhops, and the lord treaſurer himſelf ſollicited that matter in a body: It was thought abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering the diſmal notion they have here of ſo many high church archbiſhops among you; and your friend made no application, for reaſons left you to gueſs. I cannot yet learn whether you are to have a new parliament; but I am apt to think you will, and that it muſt be thought neceſſary. — The affair of *Drogheda* * hath made a noiſe here, and, like every thing elſe on your ſide, is uſed as a handle: I have had it rung in my ears from certain perſons. I hope you are prepared to take off the ſacramental teſt, becauſe that will be a means to have it taken off here among us; and that the clergy will be for it, in conſideration of the queen's bounty, and that men in em-

* Some diſputes in corporation affairs.

ployment

ployment will be ſo wiſe as to pleaſe the court, and ſecure themſelves: But, to think there is any deſign of bringing the *Scotch* into offices, is a mere ſcandal.

Lord *Pembroke* is to have the admiralty only a few months, then to have a penſion of 4000*l.* a year, and to retire; and it is thought lord *Orford** will ſucceed him, and then it is hoped, there will be an entire change in the admiralty; that Sir *John Leak* will be turned out, and the *whigs* ſo well confirmed, that it will not be in the power of the court upon a peace to bring the ballance on the other ſide.

One Mr. *Shute* is named for ſecretary to lord *Wharton:* He is a young man, but reckoned the ſhrewdeſt head in *England:* And the perſon in whom the *preſbyterians* chiefly confide; and, if money be neceſſary towards the good work in *Ireland*, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000*l.* from the body of *diſſenters* here. As to his principles, he is

* EDWARD RUSSEL (of the family of the duke of *Bedford*) who burned and deſtroyed the *French* fleet at *La Hague* in 1692, and was afterwards, in 1767, created earl of *Orford*.

truely

truely a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently, &c.

The clergy are here in an uproar upon their being prorogued: The archbiſhop of *Canterbury* taketh pains to have it believed it was a thing done without his knowledge. A divine of note (but of the wrong ſide) was with me the other day, and ſaid, he had it from a good hand, that the reaſon of this proceeding was an intention of putting the parliament on examining and correcting courts eccleſiaſtic, &c.

The archbiſhop of *Dublin* is repreſented here as one that will very much oppoſe our deſigns; and, although I will not ſay that the Obſervator is paid for writing as he doth; yet I can poſitively affirm to you, that whatever he ſays of that biſhop, or of the affairs of *Ireland*, or thoſe here, is exactly agreeable to our thoughts and intentions.

This is all I can recollect, fit to inform you at preſent. — If you pleaſe I ſhall from time to time ſend you any thing that cometh to my knowledge, that may be worth your notice. I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER VII.

My Lord, *London, Jan.* 6, 1709.

BEFORE I received the honour of your grace's of *Nov.* 20, I had ſent one incloſed, *&c.* with what account I could of affairs. Since that time the meaſures are altered of diſſolving your parliament, which doubtleſs, is their wiſeſt courſe for certain obvious reaſons, that your grace will eaſily apprehend; and I ſuppoſe you have now received directions about proroguing it, for I ſaw the order ſome days ago. I ſhould have acknowledged your grace's letter, if I had not been ever ſince perſecuted with a cruel diſtemper, a giddineſs in my head, that would not ſuffer me to write or think of any thing; and of which I am now ſlowly recovering. I ſent you word of the affairs of the firſt fruits being performed, which my lord *Pembroke* had the goodneſs to ſend me immediate notice of. I ſeldom ſee his lordſhip now, but when he pleaſeth to command me, for he ſees no-body in public, and is very full of buſineſs. I fancy

fancy your grace will think it neceſſary that in due time his lordſhip ſhould receive ſome kind of thanks in form: I have a fair pretence to merit in this matter, although in my own conſcience, I think I have very little (except my good wiſhes, and frequent reminding my lord *Pembroke*). But, two great men in office, giving me joy of it, very frankly told me, that if I had not ſmoothed the way, by giving them and the reſt of the miniſtry a good opinion of the juſtice of the thing; it would have met with oppoſition; upon which I only remarked, what I have always obſerved in courts, that when a favour is done, there is no want of perſons to challenge obligations. Mean time I am in a pretty condition, who have bills of merit given me, that I muſt thankfully acknowledge, and yet cannot honeſtly offer them in payment. I ſuppoſe the clergy will in due time ſend the queen an addreſs of thanks for her favour.

I very much applaud your grace's ſanguine temper, as you call it, and your compariſon of religion to paternal affection; but the world is divided into two ſects,

thoſe that hope the beſt, and thoſe that fear the worſt; your grace is of the former, which is the wiſer, the nobler, and moſt pious principle; and although I endeavour to avoid being of the other, yet upon this article, I hear ſometimes ſtrange weakneſſes. I compare true religion to learning and civility which have ever been in the world, but very often ſhifted their ſcenes, ſometimes entirely leaving whole countries where they have long flouriſhed, and removing to others that before were barbarous; which hath been the caſe of Chriſtianity itſelf, particularly in many parts of *Africa*, and how far the wickedneſs of a nation may provoke God Almighty to inflict ſo great a judgment, is terrible to think. But as great princes, when they have ſubdued all about them, preſently have univerſal monarchy in their thoughts, ſo your grace having conquered all the corruptions in a dioceſe, and then purſued your victories over a province, would fain go further and ſave a whole kingdom, and would never be quiet, if you could have your will, until you had converted the world.

And

And this reminds me of a pamphlet lately come out, pretended to be a letter hither from *Ireland*, againſt repealing the teſt; wherein your grace's character is juſtly ſet forth: For the reſt, ſome parts are very well, and others puerile, and ſome facts, as I am informed, wrong repreſented. The author hath gone out of his way, to reflect on me as a perſon likely to write for repealing the teſt, which I am ſure is very unfair treatment. This is all I am likely to get by the company I keep. I am uſed like a ſober man with a drunken face, have the ſcandal of the vice without the ſatisfaction. I have told the miniſtry, with great frankneſs, my opinion, that they would never be able to repeal it, unleſs ſuch changes ſhould happen, as I could not foreſee, and they all believe I differ from them in that point.

Mr. *Addiſon*, who goes overfirſt ſecretary, is a moſt excellent perſon, and being my moſt intimate friend, I ſhall uſe all my credit to ſet him right, in his notions of perſons and things. I ſpoke to him with great plainneſs upon the ſubject of the teſt, and he ſays, he is confident, my

lord *Wharton* will not attempt it; if he finds the bent of the nation againſt it.— I will ſay nothing further of his character to your grace at preſent, becauſe he hath half perſuaded me to have ſome thoughts of returning to *Ireland*, and then it will be time enough: But, if that happens otherwiſe, I preſume to recommend him to your grace as a perſon you will think worth your acquaintance.

My lord *Berkely* begins to drop his thoughts of going to *Vienna*, and indeed I freely gave my opinion againſt ſuch a journey, for one of his age and infirmities. And I ſhall hardly think of going ſecretary without him, although the emperor's miniſters here think I will, and have writ to *Vienna*. I agree with your grace, that ſuch a deſign was a little too late at my years; but conſidering myſelf wholely uſeleſs in *Ireland*, and in a pariſh with an audience of half a ſcore, and it being thought neceſſary that the queen ſhould have a ſecretary at that court, my friends telling me it would not be difficult to compaſs it, I was a little tempted to paſs ſome time abroad, until my friends would make

make me a little eaſier in my fortunes at home. Beſides I had hopes of being ſent in time, to ſome other court, and in the mean while the pay would be forty ſhillings a day, and the advantage of living, if I pleaſed, in lord *Berkely's* family. But, I believe, this is now all at end.

I am, my Lord,

With the greateſt Reſpect,

Your Grace's,

Moſt obedient, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

My lord *Wharton* ſays, he intends for *Ireland* the beginning of *March*.

LETTER VIII.

My LORD, *March* 6, 1709.

I SHOULD have acknowledged your's of *Feb.* 10, long ago, if I had not ſtayed to ſee what became of the firſt

fruits. I have likewiſe your's of the 12th inſtant. I will now tell you the proceedings in this unhappy affair. Some time after the prince's * death, lord *Pembroke* ſent me word by Sir *Andrew Fountain*, that the queen had granted the thing, and afterwards took the compliment I made him upon it. He likewiſe (I ſuppoſe) writ to the ſame purpoſe himſelf to the archbiſhop of *Dublin*. I was then for a long time purſued by a cruel illneſs, that ſeized me at fits, and hindered me from meddling in any buſineſs; neither indeed could I at all ſuſpect there was any need to ſtir any more in this, until often aſking Mr. *Addiſon*, whether he had any orders about it? I was a little in pain, and deſired Mr. *Addiſon* to enquire at the treaſury, whether ſuch a grant had then paſſed? And, finding an unwillingneſs, I enquired myſelf; where Mr. *Taylor* aſſured me there was never any order for ſuch a grant. This was a month ago, and then I began to deſpair of the whole thing. Lord *Pembroke* was hard to be ſeen; neither did I think it worth talking

* See Note, p. 23.

the

the matter with them. What perplexed me moſt was, why he ſhould tell me, and write to *Ireland*, that the buſineſs was done. (For if the account he ſent to *Ireland* were not as poſitive as what he gave me, I ought to be told ſo from thence.) I had no opportunity of clearing this matter until the day I received your laſt letter, when his explanation was, that he had been promiſed he ſhould carry over the grant, when he returned to *Ireland*, and that his memorial was now in the treaſury. Yet, when I had formerly begged leave to follow this matter with lord *Pembroke* only, in the form of common ſolliciting, he was uneaſy, and told me lord *Pembroke* had nothing at all to do with it; but, that it was a matter purely between the queen and himſelf (as I have told you in former letters) which, however, I knew then to be otherwiſe, from lord *Pembroke* himſelf. So that all I had left me to do was only the cold amuſement of now and then refreſhing lord *Pembroke's* memory, or giving the miniſtry, as I could find opportunity, good diſpoſitions towards the thing.

Upon this notice from lord *Pembroke*, I immediately went to lord *Wharton* (which was the firſt attendance I ever paid him); he was then in a great crowd. I told him my buſineſs; he ſaid, he could not then diſcourſe of it with me, but would the next day. I gueſſed the meaning of that; and ſaw the very perſon I expected, juſt come from him. Then I gave him an account of my errand. I think it not convenient to repeat here the particulars of his anſwer; but the formal part was this. That he was not yet properly lord lieutenant until he was ſworn; that he expected the ſame application ſhould be made to him, as had been done to other lord lieutenants; that he was very well diſpoſed, *&c.* I took the boldneſs to begin anſwering thoſe objections, and deſigned to offer ſome reaſons; but he roſe ſuddenly, turned off the diſcourſe, and ſeemed in haſte; ſo I was forced to take my leave. I had an intention to offer my reaſons in a memorial, but was adviſed, by very good hands, to let it alone, as infallibly to no purpoſe. And, in ſhort, I obſerve ſuch a reluctance in ſome friends, whoſe

whoſe credit I would employ, that I begin to think no further of it.

I had writ thus far without receiving a former letter from the archbiſhop of *Dublin*, wherein he tells me poſitively that lord *Pembroke* had ſent him word the firſt fruits were granted, and that lord *Wharton* would carry over the queen's letter, &c. I appeal to you, what any man could think after this? Neither indeed had I the leaſt ſuſpicion, until Mr. *Addiſon* told me, he knew nothing of it; and that I had the ſame account from the treaſury. It is wonderful, a great miniſter ſhould make no difference, between a grant, and the promiſe of a grant. And, it is as ſtrange, that all I could ſay would not prevail on him to give me leave to ſollicit the finiſhing it at the treaſury, which could not have taken the leaſt grain of merit from him. Had I the leaſt ſuſpected it had been only a promiſe, I would have applied to lord *Wharton* above two months ago; and ſo, I believe, would the archbiſhop of *Dublin*, from *Ireland*; which might have prevented, at leaſt, the preſent excuſe, of not having had the ſame

application; although others might, I ſuppoſe, have been found.

I ſent laſt poſt, by the lord lieutenant's commands, an incloſed letter, from his excellency, to the lord primate, in anſwer to a paſſage in your former letter. Mr. *Stoughton* is recommended for a chaplain to the lord lieutenant. His ſermon is much recommended by ſeveral here. He is a prudent perſon, and knows how to time things. Others of ſomewhat better figure are as wiſe as he. A bold opinion is a ſhort eaſy way to merit, and very neceſſary for thoſe who have no other.

I am extremely afflicted with a cold, and cough attending it, which muſt excuſe any thing ill expreſſed in this letter. Neither is it a ſubject in the preſent circumſtances very pleaſant to dwell upon.

I am, *&c.*

LETTER IX.

My LORD, *London, Sept.* 19, 1710.

I ARRIVED here on Thurſday laſt, and enquiring for the two biſhops, I found my lord of * *Oſſory* was gone ſome time

* *Dr.* JOHN HARSTRONG.

ago,

ago, and the biſhop of *Killaly* * I could not hear of until next day, when I found he was ſet out early in the morning for *Ireland*; ſo that the letter to their lordſhips is ſo far to no purpoſe. I cannot yet learn whether they left any papers behind them; neither ſhall I much enquire; and, to ſay the truth, I was leſs ſollicitous to aſk after the biſhop of *Killala*, when I heard the other was gone. They tell me, all affairs in the treaſury are governed by Mr. † *Harley*, and that he is the perſon uſually applied to; only of late, my lord *Powlet*, upon what people have talked to him that way, hath exerted himſelf a little, and endeavours to be as ſignificant as he can. I have opportunities enough of getting ſome intereſt with his lordſhip, who hath formerly done me good offices, although I have no perſonal acquaintance with him. After which I will apply to Mr. *Harley*, who formerly made ſome advances towards me, and, unleſs he be altered, will, I believe, think himſelf in the

* *Dr.* Wm. Loyd. Oxford, *often mentioned in theſe works.*

† Robert Harley, *Eſq; afterwards earl of*

right to uſe me well: But I am inclined to ſuſpend any particular ſollicitations, until I hear from your grace, and am informed what progreſs the two biſhops have made, and until I receive their papers, with what other directions your grace will pleaſe to ſend me.

Upon my arrival here, I found myſelf equally careſſed by both parties, by one as a ſort of bait to draw me to lay hold of; and by the other as one diſcontented with the late men in power, for not being thorough in their deſigns, and therefore ready to approve preſent things. I was to viſit my lord *Godolphin*, who gave me a reception very unexpected, and altogether different from what I ever received from any great man in my life, altogether ſhort, dry, and moroſe, not worth repeating to your grace, until I have the honour to ſee you. I complained of it to ſome of his friends, as having, as I thought, for ſome reaſons, deſerved much the contrary from his lordſhip: They ſaid, to excuſe him, that he was over-run with ſpleen and peeviſhneſs upon the preſent poſture of affairs, and uſed no-body

better

better. It may be new to your grace to tell you ſome circumſtances of his removal. A letter was ſent him by the groom of the queen's ſtables, to deſire he would break his ſtaff, which would be the eaſieſt way, both to her majeſty and him. Mr. *Smith*, chancellor of the exchequer, happened to come in a little after. My lord broke his ſtaff, and flung the pieces in the chimney, deſiring Mr. *Smith* to be witneſs that he had obeyed the queen's commands, and ſent him to the queen with a letter, and a meſſage, which Mr. *Smith* delivered, and at the ſame time ſurrendered up his own office. The parliament is certainly to be diſſolved, although the day is yet uncertain. The remainder of *whigs* in employment are reſolved not to reſign, and a certain lord told me, he had been the giver of that advice, and did in my preſence prevail on an acquaintance of mine in a great poſt to promiſe the ſame thing; only Mr. * *Boyle*, they ſay, is reſolved to give up. Every body counts infallibly upon a general removal. The duke of *Queenſbury*, it is ſaid, will be

* *Secretary of ſtate.*

ſteward;

ſteward; my lord *Cholmondeley* is gone over to the new intereſt with great indignation of his friends. It is affirmed by the *tories*, that the great motive of theſe changes was the abſolute neceſſity of a peace, which they thought the *whigs* were for perpetually delaying. Elections are now managing with greater violence and expence, and more competitors, than ever was known; yet the town is much fuller of people, than uſually at this time of the year, waiting until they ſee ſome iſſue of the matter. The duke of *Ormond* is much talked of for *Ireland*, and I imagine he believeth ſomething of it himſelf. Mr. *Harley* is looked upon as firſt miniſter, and not my lord *Shrewſbery* *, and his grace helps on the opinion, whether out

* CHARLES TALBOT, duke of *Shrewſbery*; who before the demiſe of queen *Anne* had been ſecretary of ſtate, and ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to *Louis* XIV, king of *France*; and at the death of her majeſty he was lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, lord high treaſurer of *England*, and lord chamberlain of the houſhold; three of the higheſt places of truſt, honour, and profit, never in the hands of one perſon before. His grace died without iſſue, by which the title of duke became extinct; but the title of earl of *Shrewſbery* devolved on *Gilbert Talbot*, a Roman catholic, the next heir.

of

of policy or truth, upon all occaſions profeſſing to ſtay until he ſpeaks with Mr. *Harley*. The queen continues at *Kenſington* indiſpoſed with the gout, of which ſhe hath frequent returns.

I deferred writing to your grace, as late as I could this poſt, until I might have ſomething to entertain you: but there is ſuch an univerſal uncertainty among thoſe who pretend to know moſt, that little can be depended on. However, it may be ſome amuſement to tell you the ſentiments of people here, and, as bad as they are, I am ſure they are the beſt that are ſtirring; for it is thought there are not three people in *England* entirely in the ſecret, nor is it ſure, whether even thoſe three are agreed in what they intend to do. I am with great reſpect,

My Lord, your Grace's

Moſt obedient, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

I have

I have not time to read this and correct the literal miſtakes.

I was to wait on the duke of *Ormond*, and to ſet him right in the ſtory of the college, about the * ſtatue, &c.

LETTER X †.

My LORD, *London, October* 10, 1710.

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter of *Sept.* 16. but I was in no pain to acknowledge it, nor ſhall be at any other time, until I have ſomething that I think worth troubling you with, becauſe I am very ſenſible how much an inſignificant letter is worſe than none at all. I had likewiſe the memorial, &c. in another pacquet; and I beg your grace to incloſe whatever pacquets you ſend me (I mean of bulk) under a paper directed to Mr.

* Some young gentlemen of the univerſity took the truncheon out of the right hand of the equeſtrian ſtatue of king WILLIAM III, on *College-Green*, *Dublin*, and were expelled for it.

† This letter being in part only printed in Vol. XII. Letter III. ending with the words, *than if I had writ more in order*, and being imperfect there in other reſpects, it has been thought proper to print the whole here.

Steele

Steele *, at his office in the cockpit, and not for me at Mr. *Steele's*. I ſhould have been glad the biſhop had been here, although I take biſhops to be the worſt ſollicitors in the world, except in their own concerns; they cannot give themſelves the little troubles of attendance that other men are content to ſwallow; elſe, I am ſure, their two lordſhips might have ſucceeded eaſier than men of my level can reaſonably hope to do.

As ſoon as I received the pacquets, I went to wait upon Mr. *Harley* †. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate, and got myſelf repreſented (which I might juſtly do) as one extremely ill uſed by the laſt miniſtry, after ſome obligations, becauſe I refuſed to go certain lengths they would have had me. This happened to be in ſome ſort Mr. *Harley's* own caſe. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and eſteem, as I was whiſpered that he

* Sir RICHARD STEELE, often mentioned in theſe works.

† Lord high-treaſurer of *England*, afterwards created earl of *Oxford*.

would,

would, and the more, upon the ill uſage I had met with. I ſate with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I gave him a hiſtory of the whole buſineſs, and the ſteps that had been made in it, which he heard as I could wiſh, and promiſed with great readineſs his beſt credit to effect it. I mentioned the difficulties we had met from lord lieutenants and their ſecretaries, who would not ſuffer others to ſollicit, and neglected it themſelves. He fell in with me entirely, and ſaid, neither they nor himſelf ſhould have the merit of it, but the queen, to whom he would ſhew my memorial with the firſt opportunity; in order, if poſſible, to have it done in this inter-regnum. I ſaid, it was a great encouragement to the biſhops that he was in the treaſury, whom they knew to have been the chief adviſer of the queen, to grant the ſame favour in *England*. That the honour and merit of this would certainly be his, next the queen; but that it was nothing to him who had done ſo much greater things; and that, for my part, I thought he was obliged to the

clergy

clergy of *Ireland*, for giving him an occaſion of gratifying the pleaſure he took in doing good to the church. He received my compliment extremely well, and renewed his promiſes with great kindneſs. I forgot to tell your grace, that when I ſaid I was impowered, *&c.* he deſired to ſee my powers, and then I heartily wiſhed they had been a little more ample; and I have ſince wondered what ſcruple a number of biſhops could have of empowering a clergyman to do the church and them a ſervice, without any proſpect or imagination of intereſt for himſelf, further than about ten ſhillings a year.

Mr. *Harley* hath invited me to dine with him to day; but I ſhall not put him upon this diſcourſe ſo ſoon. If he begins it himſelf I will add at bottom, whatever there is of moment. He ſaid, Mr. Secretary *St. John* * deſires to be acquainted with me, and that he will bring us together, which may be of further help; although I told him I had no thoughts of applying to any but himſelf,

* Afterwards lord viſcount BOLINGBROKE.

wherein he differed from me, deſiring I would ſpeak to others, if it were but for form; and ſeemed to mean, as if he would avoid the envy of doing things alone. But an old courtier (an intimate friend of mine) with whom I conſulted, adviſed me ſtill to let him know, I relied wholely upon his good inclinations, and credit with the queen. I find I am forced to ſay all this very confuſedly, juſt as it lies in my memory; but, perhaps, it may give your grace a truer notion of what paſſed, than if I had writ in more order. Beſides, I am forced to omit the greateſt part of what I ſaid, being not proper for a letter at ſuch a diſtance; for I told very freely the late cauſes which had ſtopt this matter, and removed many odious miſ-repreſentations, &c.

I beg whatever letters are ſent to biſhops or others in this matter by your grace or the primate, may be incloſed to me, that I may ſtifle or deliver them, as the courſe of the affair ſhall require. As for a letter from your grace to the queen, you ſay it needs advice; and I am ſure it is not from me, who ſhall not preſume to offer,

offer, but perhaps from what I have writ, you may form ſome judgment or other.

As for public affairs I confeſs I began this letter on a half ſheet, merely to limit myſelf on a ſubject with which I did not know whether your grace would be entertained. I am not yet convinced that any acceſs to men in power gives a man more truth or light than the politics of a coffee-houſe. I have known ſome great miniſters, who would ſeem to diſcover the very inſide of their hearts, when I was ſure they did not value whether I had proclaimed all they had ſaid, at *Charing-Croſs*. But I never knew one great miniſter, who made any ſcruple, to mould the alphabet into whatever words he pleaſed; or be more difficult about any facts, than his porter is about that of his lord's being at home; ſo that whoever hath ſo little to do, as to deſire ſome knowledge in ſecrets of ſtate, muſt compare what he hears from ſeveral great men, as from one great man, at ſeveral times, which is equally different. People were ſurpriſed, when the court ſtopt its hands as to further removals: the

comptroller, a lord of the admiralty, and ſome others, told me, they expected every day to be diſmiſſed, but they were all deceived, and the higher tories are very angry: but ſome time ago at *Hampton-Court*, I picked out the reaſon from a dozen perſons; and told Sir *J. Holland*, I would lay a wager he would not loſe his ſtaff ſo ſoon as he imagined. The miniſtry are afraid of too great a majority of their own ſide, in the houſe of commons, and therefore ſtopt ſhort in their changes; yet ſome refiners think they have here gone too far already, for of thirty new members in the preſent elections, about twenty-ſix are tories. The duke of *Ormond* ſeemeth ſtill to ſtand the faireſt for *Ireland*; although I hear ſome faint hopes they will not nominate very ſoon. The ruin of the late party was owing to a great number, and complication of cauſes which I have had from perſons able enough to inform me, and that is all we can mean by *a good hand*, for the veracity is not to be relied on. The dutcheſs of *Marlborough's* removal hath been ſeven years working; that of the

the treaſurer above three, and he was to be diſmiſſed before lord *Sunderland*. Beſides the many perſonal cauſes, that of breaking meaſures ſettled for a peace four years ago, had a great weight, when the *French* had complied with all terms, &c. In ſhort, they apprehended the old party to be entirely againſt a peace, for ſome time, until they were rivetted faſt, too faſt to be broke as they otherwiſe expected, if the war ſhould conclude too ſoon. I cannot tell (for it is juſt come into my head) whether ſome unanimous addreſſes, from thoſe who love the church in *Ireland*, or from *Dublin*, or your grace, and the clergy might not be ſeaſonable; or, whether my lord *Wharton's* being not yet ſuſpended, may yet hinder it.

I forgot to tell your grace, that the memorial I gave Mr. *Harley* was drawn up by myſelf, and was an abſtract of what I had ſaid to him; it was as ſhort as I could make it; that which you ſent being too long, and of another nature.

I dined to-day with Mr. *Harley*, but I muſt humbly beg your grace's pardon if I ſay no more at preſent, for reaſons I may

ſhortly let you know. In the mean time I deſire your grace to believe me, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LET-

LETTERS

FROM

Dr. SWIFT to Dr. NARCISSUS MARSH,

Lord Primate and Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

LETTER I.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 4, 1710.

I AM moſt unhappily engaged this night, where I cannot write to your grace ſo long a letter as I intended: But, I will make it up in a poſt or two. I have only now to tell you, that Mr. *Harley* hath given me leave to acquaint my lord primate and your grace, that the queen hath granted the firſt fruits and twentieth parts to the clergy of *Ireland*. It was done above a fortnight ago; but I was then obliged to keep it a ſecret, as I hinted to your grace in my laſt letter. He hath now given me leave to let your grace and my lord primate know it, only deſires you will ſay nothing of it until a letter cometh to you from my lord *Dart-*

mouth, ſecretary of ſtate. All I know yet is, that the biſhops are to be made a corporation for the diſpoſal of the firſt fruits, and that the twentieth parts are to be remitted. I will write to your grace the particulars of my negotiation, and ſome other amuſements very ſoon. I humbly beg your grace to acquaint my lord primate with this. I had your grace's letter laſt poſt, and you will now ſee, that your letters to the archbiſhop here are unneceſſary. I was a little in pain about the duke of *Ormond*, who I feared might interpoſe in this matter, and be angry it was done without him: But Mr. *Harley* hath very kindly taken this matter upon himſelf. It was yeſterday I dined with him, and he told me all this; and to-morrow I dine with him again, where I may hear more. I ſhall obey your grace's directions whether my ſtay here be further neceſſary, after you have had the letter from the ſecretary's office. I know not what it will be; but, if any forms remain to finiſh, I ſhall be ready to aſſiſt in it as I have hitherto done. I have all the reaſon in the world to be

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with Mr. *Harley's* conduct in this whole affair. In three days he ſpoke of it to the queen, and gave her my memorial, and ſo continued until he got her grant. I am now in much company, and ſteal this time to write to your grace. The queen was reſolved to have the whole merit of this affair to herſelf. Mr. *Harley* adviſed her to it, and, next to her majeſty, he is the only perſon to be thanked. I ſuppoſe it will not be many days before you have the letter from my lord *Dartmouth*, and your grace will afterwards ſignify your commands, if you have any, for me. I ſhall go to the office and ſee that a diſpatch be made as ſoon as poſſible. I am with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LET-

LETTER II.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 23, 1710.

I HAD your grace's letter not until this day: Whether it lay in the ſecretary's office, or was kept by the wind I cannot tell; but I would have expoſed it immediately whenever it had come. Mr. *Southwell* told me two days ago of the letter your grace mentions, which ſurpriſed me a good deal, when I remembered I had writ to your grace three weeks ago, that the queen had abſolutely granted the firſt fruits and twentieths, and that Mr. *Harley* had permitted me to ſignify the ſame to the primate and your grace. Perhaps that letter might not have reached your grace before that reſolution of ſending the duke of *Ormond*; but however, I gave you ſuch an account of my reception from Mr. *Harley*, and his readineſs to undertake this affair, and what ſteps he had already made in it, as I thought would have given you ſome ſight in what way the buſineſs was; but Mr. *Harley* charged me to tell no-body alive.

alive, what the queen had reſolved on, till he gave me leave; and, by the concluſion of a former letter, your grace might ſee you were to expect ſome further intelligence very ſoon. Your grace may remember, that upon your telling me how backward the biſhops were in giving me a power, I was very unwilling to go at all, and ſent the dean of *St. Patrick's* * to tell you ſo; but you thought I could not handſomely put it off, when things were gone ſo far. Your objection then about the diſadvantage I lay under in point of party, I know well enough how to anſwer, otherwiſe nothing ſhould have prevailed on me to come hither; and, if my lords the biſhops doubt whether I have any credit with the preſent miniſtry, I will, if they pleaſe, undo this matter in as little time as I have done it. I did reckon your grace underſtood and believed me in what I ſaid; and I reckon ſo ſtill, but I will not be at the pains of undeceiving ſo many. I never propoſed to myſelf either credit or profit by my labour, but the ſatisfaction of doing

* Dr. *Sterne*, afterwards biſhop of *Clogher*.

good;

good, without valuing whether I had the merit of it or no: But the method now taken, was the likelieſt way to ſet all things backward if it were not paſt danger. It ſhall be my buſineſs (until my lords the biſhops forbid me to engage further) to prevent any miſunderſtanding with Mr. *Harley* by this ſudden ſtep. The thing was all done before the duke of *Ormond* was named for lord lieutenant, ſo there was no affront at all to him; and Mr. *Harley* told me more than once, that ſuch an intereſt was the propereſt, becauſe he thought the queen herſelf ſhould have the doing it: But, I ſaid a great deal of this in former letters. If your grace hath any commands for me of your own, I ſhall obey them with all chearfulneſs, being with great reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LET-

LETTER III *.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 28, 1710.

A DAY or two after I received your grace's letter, of the 2d inſtant, I dined with Mr. *Southwell*, who ſhewed me the letter of the biſhop's, to the duke of *Ormond*, and another letter from the biſhop of *Kildare* to Mr. *Southwell*, to deſire him to get the papers from me, which I ſhall ſend him as ſoon as I have looked them out. Mr. *Southwell* ſaid, that a month or two hence, when the duke began to think of this journey, it would be time enough to ſollicit this affair. Upon this I told him frankly, that the queen had already granted the firſt fruits, and that I had writ to your grace by Mr. *Harley's* directions, but that my letter did not reach you, until your's was ſent to the duke and him; and that therefore I thought it would be a very odd ſtep to begin again. He ſaid, he was glad it was done, and that he did not deſign to

* This letter ſhould have been inſerted in Vol. XI. after Letter V.

take any of the credit from me, &c. I told him ſincerely, it was what I did not regard at all, and provided the church had the benefit, it was indifferent to me how it came about, and ſo we parted. I had told the duke of *Ormond* at firſt, that I would apply myſelf to Mr. *Harley*, if his grace adviſed it, which he did; and I afterwards told Mr. *Southwell*, that Mr. *Harley* had been very kind in promiſing his good offices: Further I durſt not ſpeak, being under an engagement of ſecrecy to Mr. *Harley*, and the whole thing was done before the duke was declared lord lieutenant. If your grace conſiders the time you ſent me the paper, you will judge what diſpatch was made; in two days after, I delivered a memorial, I drew up, to Mr. *Harley*, and in leſs than a fortnight he had treated the matter four times with the queen, and then told me ſhe had granted it abſolutely as my memorial deſired, but charged me to tell no man alive, and your grace may remember, that one of my letters ended with ſomething as if I were limited, and would ſay more in a ſhort time. In about

about a week after I had leave to inform the primate and your grace, as I did in my letter of the 4th inſtant. It is to be conſidered, that the queen was all this while at *Hampton-Court* or *Windſor*, ſo that I think the diſpatch was very great. But, indeed, I expected a letter would have been ſent from the ſecretary's office, to ſignify this matter in due form; and ſo it will: But Mr. *Harley* had a mind firſt to bring me to the queen, for that and ſome other matters; and ſhe came to town not a week ago, and was out of order one day when it was deſigned I ſhould attend her; and, ſince, the parliament's beginning hath taken her up: But, in a few days, Mr. *Harley* tells me he will introduce me. This I tell your grace, in confidence only to ſatisfy you in particular, why the queen hath not yet ſent a letter in form. Upon that diſpatch to Mr. *Southwell*, I was perplexed to the laſt degree. I did not value the ſlighting manner of the biſhop of *Kildare's* * letter, barely deſiring Mr. *Southwell* † to call on

* Dr. WELBORE ELLIS.
† Right hon. EDWARD SOUTHWELL, Eſq; ſecretary of ſtate for *Ireland*.

me

me for the papers, without any thing further, as if I had been wholely inſignificant; but I was at a loſs how to behave myſelf with the duke and Mr. *Harley*. I met the latter yeſterday in the court of requeſts, and he whiſpered me to dine with him. At dinner, I told him of the diſpatch to Mr. *Southwell*, and rallied him for putting me under difficulties with his ſecrets, that I was running my head againſt a wall; that he reckoned he had done the church and me a favour, that I ſhould diſoblige the duke of *Ormond*, and that the biſhops in *Ireland* thought I had done nothing, and had therefore taken away my commiſſion. He told me your lordſhip had taken it away in good time, for the thing was done; and that as for the duke of *Ormond*, I need not be uneaſy; for he would let his grace know it as ſoon as he ſaw him, which would be, in a day or two, at the treaſury; and then promiſed again to carry me to the queen, with the firſt opportunity. Your grace now ſees how the affair ſtands, and whether I deſerve ſuch treatment from the biſhops, from every part whereof I wholely exclude

exclude your grace, and could only wiſh my firſt letter, about the progreſs I had made, had found ſo much credit with you, as to have delayed that diſpatch until you heard once more from me. I had at leaſt ſo much diſcretion, not to pretend I had done more than I really did, but rather leſs: And, if I had conſulted my own intereſt, I ſhould have employed my credit with the preſent miniſtry another way. The biſhops are miſtaken in me; it is well known here, that I could have made my markets with the laſt miniſtry if I had pleaſed; and the preſent men in power are very well appriſed of it, as your grace may, if I live to ſee you again; which I certainly never would in *Ireland*, if I did not flatter myſelf that I can upon a better foot with your grace, than with ſome other of their lordſhips. Your grace is pleaſed to command me to continue my ſollicitations; but as now there will be no need of them, ſo I think my commiſſion is at an end, ever ſince I had notice of that diſpatch to Mr. *Southwell*. However, in obedience to your grace, if there be any thing to be done about expe-

diting the forms, wherein my ſervice can be of uſe, I will readily perform as far as I am able: But I muſt tell your grace what gives me the greateſt diſpleaſure, that I had hopes to prevail that the queen ſhould in ſome months be brought to remit the crown-rents, which I named in my memorial; but in an article by itſelf; and Mr. *Harley* had given me ſome hopes of, and I have ſome private reaſons to think, might have been brought about. I mentioned it in the memorial, only as from myſelf, and therefore, if I have an opportunity, I ſhall venture to mention it to the queen, or at leaſt repeat it to Mr. *Harley*. This I do as a private man, whom the biſhops no longer own. It is certainly right to pay all civilities, and make applications to a lord lieutenant, but without ſome other means a buſineſs may hang long enough, as this of the firſt fruits did for four years under the duke of *Ormond's* laſt government, although no man loves the church of *Ireland* better than his grace; but ſuch things are forgot and neglected between the governor and his ſecretaries, unleſs

ſollicited by ſome body who has the buſineſs at heart. But I have done, and ſhall trouble your grace no farther upon this affair; and on other occaſions while I am here, will endeavour to entertain you with what is like to paſs in this buſy ſcene, where all things are taking a new, and, I think, a good turn; and where, if you pleaſe, I will write to you, with that freedom I formerly did; and I beg your grace to employ me in any commands you may have here, which I ſhall be prouder to obey, than to have ever ſo much merit with ſome others; being with perfect reſpect,

My LORD, your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, and

Moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

Your grace will pleaſe to direct for me at *St. James's* coffee-houſe in *St. James's-ſtreet.*

Two hundred members ſupped laſt night at the fountain tavern, where they

went to determine about a chairman for elections. *Medlicott* and *Manly* were the two candidates; but the company could not agree, and parted in an ill humour. It is a matter of ſome moment, and, I hope, it will be amicably made up; but the great rock we are afraid of, is a diſſenſion among the majority, becauſe the weakeſt part, when they grow diſcontented, know where to retire, and be received.

LETTER IV*.

My Lord, *London, Dec.* 30, 1710.

I HAVE juſt received your grace's letter of the 16th, and I was going however to write again to your grace, not upon buſineſs, but to amuſe you with ſomething from hence, which no man wants more than your grace, conſidering the variety of other people's affairs you have always on your hands, as well as the church's and your own, which are the

* This ſhould have been inſerted after Letter VI. Vol. XII.

ſame

ſame thing. The duke of *Ormond* told me the other day, that the * primate declined very faſt, and was hardly able to ſign a paper. I ſaid, I wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonth paſt. I hope, for the church's good, that your grace's friends will do their duty in repreſenting you as the perſon the kingdom wiſheth to ſucceed him. I know not how your diſpoſitions ſtand that way. I know my lord preſident hath great credit at preſent, and I have underſtood him to be a friend to your grace. I can only ſay, I have no regard to your intereſt in this, but that of the church; and therefore ſhould be very glad to drop in a word where it lieth in my way, if I thought it would not be diſagreeable to you. I dread their ſending a perſon from hence, which I ſhall venture to prevent with all the little credit I have, and ſhould be glad to ſee a primate of our own kingdom and univerſity; and that is all I ſhall venture to ſay on this ſubject.

* DR. MARSH.

Marſhal *Staremberg* * hath certainly got to *Saragoſſa* with 7000 men, and the duke of *Vendoſme* † hath ſent him his equipage. Mr. *Stanhope* ‡ was poſitive to part forces with *Staremberg*, which occaſioned this loſs; and when the battle was, they were ſeveral miles aſunder. The duke of *Marlborough* was yeſterday an hour with the queen; it was ſet him at twelve at noon, when it was likely his viſit ſhould be ſhorteſt. Mr. *St. John* was with her juſt before, and Mr. *Harley* juſt after. The duke's behaviour was with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; that he was the meaneſt of her majeſty's inſtruments; her humble creature; a poor worm, *&c.* This I had from a lord to whom the queen told it: For the miniſters never tell any thing; and it is only by picking out and comparing, that one can ever be the wiſer for them. I took leave yeſterday of lord *Peterborow*, who is going in a day or two to *Vienna*: I

* General and commander of the *imperial* forces in *Spain*.

† Commander of the *French*.

‡ General *Stanhope*, commander of the *Engliſh*. He was created an earl by *George* I.

ſaid,

ſaid, I wiſhed he were going to *Spain*; he told me, he hoped his preſent journey would be to more purpoſe; and, by what I can gather, they will uſe all means to make as ſpeedy a peace as poſſible, with ſafety and honour. Lord *Rivers** tells me he will not ſet out for *Hanover* this month: I aſked him about his late reception there, becauſe the town was full of ſtories about it: He aſſured me he could not deſire a better; and, if it were otherwiſe, I believe he would be hardly pitched upon to be ſent again. The young people in parliament are very eager to have ſome enquiries made into paſt managements, and are a little angry with the ſlackneſs of the miniſtry upon that article; they ſay, they have told thoſe who ſent them, that the queen's calling a new parliament was to correct and look into former abuſes; and, if ſomething of the latter be not done, they know not how to anſwer it. I am not altogether ſatisfied how the miniſtry is diſpoſed in this point. Your grace hath heard

* RICHARD SAVAGE, earl of *Rivers*, her majeſty's miniſters and plenipotentiary to *Hanover*.

there was much talk lately of Sir *Richard Levinge's* * deſign to impeach lord *Wharton*; and ſeveral perſons of great conſideration in the houſe aſſured me, they would give him all encouragement; and I have reaſon to know, it would be acceptable to the court: But Sir *Richard* is the moſt timorous man alive, and they all begin to look upon him in that character, and to hope nothing from him: However, they talk of ſome other enquiries when the parliament meets after this receſs; and it is often in people's mouths, that *February* will be a warm month; but this I can affirm nothing of, and I hope your grace will diſtinguiſh between what I affirm, and what I report: As to the firſt you may ſecurely count upon it; the other you will pleaſe to take as it is ſent.

Since the letter from the biſhops to the duke of *Ormond*, I have been a much cooler ſollicitor; for I look upon myſelf no longer a deputed perſon. Your grace may be fully ſatisfied, that the thing is

* Speaker of the houſe of commons, and lord chief juſtice of the king's bench.

granted,

granted, becauſe I had order to report it to you from the prime miniſter; the reſt is form, and may be done at any time; as for bringing the letter over myſelf, I muſt again profeſs to your grace, that I do not regard the reputation of it at all; perhaps I might if I were in *Ireland*; but, when I am on this ſide, a certain pride ſeizeth me from very different uſage I meet with, which maketh me look on things in another light: but, beſides, I beg to tell your grace in confidence, that the miniſtry have deſired me to continue here ſome time longer, for certain reaſons, that I may ſome time have the honour to tell you. As for every body's knowing what is done in the firſt fruits, it was I that told it; for, after I ſaw the biſhop's letter, I let every one know it in perfect ſpight, and told Mr. *Harley* and Mr. Secretary *St. John* ſo. However, in humble deference to your grace's opinion, and not to appear ſullen, I did yeſterday complain to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, that Mr. *Harley* had not yet got the letter from the queen to confirm the grant of the firſt fruits; that I had loſt reputation by

by it; and that I took it very ill of them both; and that their excuſes of parliament buſineſs, and grief for the loſs in *Spain*, were what I would bear no longer. He took all I ſaid very well, and deſired I would call on him to-morrow morning, and he would engage, if Mr. *Harley* had not done it, he himſelf would in a day or two. As ſoon as there is any iſſue of this I ſhall inform your grace; and I have reaſon to think it is a trifle they will not refuſe me.

I have had from other hands ſome accounts of that ridiculous plot your grace mentions, but it is not yet talked of here, neither have any of the miniſtry mentioned a word of it to me, although they are well apprized of ſome affairs in *Ireland*; for I had two papers given me by a great man, one about the ſentence of the defacers of the ſtatue, and the other about a trial before the lord chief juſtice *Broderick*, for ſome words in the north, ſpoke by a clergyman againſt the queen. I ſuppoſe your grace reckons upon a new parliament in *Ireland*, and ſome alterations in the council, the law, and the revenue.

Your

Your grace is the moſt exact correſpondent I ever had, and the dean of *St. Patrick's* directly contrary, which I hope you will remember to ſay to him upon the occaſion.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

I have read over this letter, and find ſeveral things relating to affairs here, that are ſaid in perfect confidence to your grace: if they are told again, I only deſire it may not be known from what hand they came.

LETTER V.

My LORD, *London, Jan.* 4, 1710-11.

HAVING writ to your grace ſo lately, I only now make bold to let you know, that on *Tueſday* I was to wait on

on Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who told me from Mr. *Harley*, that I need not be in pain about the firſt fruits, for the warrant was drawn in order towards a patent; but muſt paſs two ſeveral forms, and take up ſome time, for the queen deſigneth to make a grant by her letters patent. I ſhall take all due methods to haſten it as far as I am able, but in theſe caſes they are generally pretty tedious. Mr. *Harley* likewiſe ſent me the ſame day by another perſon the ſame meſſage. I dined with him about four days ago, but there being much company, and he going away in haſte pretty ſoon after dinner, he had not time to tell me ſo himſelf. Indeed he hath been ſo ready to do every thing in this matter as I would have him, that he never needed preſſing, which, conſidering both the weight and difficulty of affairs, at preſent on his ſhoulders, is very extraordinary, and what I never met from a great miniſter before. I had thought, and ſo Mr. *Harley* told me, that the queen would have ſent a letter to the biſhops; but this is a ſhorter way, and I hope

hope your grace will like it. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

I am told from a good hand, that in a ſhort time the houſe of commons will fall upon ſome enquiries into the late management.

I took leave yeſterday of lord *Peterborow*, who, I ſuppoſe, is this day ſet out on his journey to *Vienna*; he is a little diſcouraged, and told me, he did not hope for any great ſucceſs in what he went upon. He is one of thoſe many who are mightily bent upon having ſome ſuch enquiries made, as I have mentioned.

LETTER VI.

My Lord, *London, March* 8, 1710-11.

I WRITE to your grace under the greateſt diſturbance of mind for the publick and myſelf. A gentleman came in where I dined this afternoon, and told us Mr. *Harley* was ſtabbed, and ſome confuſed particulars. I immediately ran to ſecretary *St. John's* hard by, but no body was at home: I met Mrs. *St. John* in her chair, who could not ſatisfy me, but was in pain about the ſecretary, who, as ſhe heard, had killed the murderer. I went ſtrait to Mr. *Harley's*, where abundance of people were to enquire. I got young Mr. *Harley* to me; he ſaid his father was aſleep, and they hoped in no danger, and then told me the fact, as I ſhall relate it to your grace. This day the marquis *de Guiſcard* was taken up for high-treaſon, by a warrant of Mr. *St. John*, and examined before a committee of council in Mr. *St. John's* office, where were preſent, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Buckingham*,

Buckingham, *Shrewſbury*, earl *Powlet*, Mr. *Harley*, Mr. *St. John*, and others. During examination, Mr. *Harley* obſerved *Guiſcard*, who ſtood behind him, but on one ſide, ſwearing and looking direſpectfully. He told him he ought to behave himſelf better, while he was examined for ſuch a crime. *Guiſcard* immediately drew a penknife, out of his pocket, which he had picked out of ſome of the offices, and reaching round ſtabbed him juſt under the breaſt, a little to the right ſide; but it pleaſed God that the point ſtopped at one of the ribs, and broke ſhort half an inch. Immediately Mr. *St. John* roſe, drew his ſword, and ran it into *Guiſcard's* breaſt. Five or ſix more of the council drew and ſtabbed *Guiſcard* in ſeveral places: But the earl *Powlet* called out for God's ſake, to ſpare *Guiſcard's* life, that he might be made an example, and Mr. *St. John's* ſword was taken from him, and broke, and the footmen without ran in, and bound *Guiſcard*, who begged he might be killed immediately; and, they ſay, called out three or four times, my lord *Ormond*, my lord *Ormond*. They

ſay

ſay *Guiſcard* reſiſted them a while, until the footmen came in. Immediately *Bucier* the ſurgeon was ſent for, who dreſſed Mr. *Harley*, and he was ſent home. The wound bled freſh, and they do not apprehend him in danger: He ſaid when he came, he thought himſelf in none; and when I was there he was aſleep, and they did not find him at all feveriſh. He hath been ill this week, and told me laſt *Saturday*, he found himſelf much out of order, and hath been abroad but twice ſince; ſo that the only danger is, leſt his being out of order, ſhould, with the wound, put him in a fever, and I ſhall be in mighty pain 'till to-morrow morning. I went back to poor Mrs. *St. John*, who told me, her huſband was with my lord keeper *, at Mr. Attorney's, and ſhe ſaid ſomething to me very remarkable: That going to day to pay her duty to the queen, when all the men and ladies were dreſſed to make their appearance, this being the day of the queen's acceſſion, the lady of the bed-chamber in waiting

* Sir *Simeon Harcourt*, afterwards created lord baron of *Stanton Harcourt.*

told

told her the queen had not been at church, and ſaw no company; yet, when ſhe enquired her health, they ſaid ſhe was very well, only had a little cold. We conceive, the queen's reaſon for not going out, might be ſomething about this ſeizing of *Guiſcard* for high treaſon, and that perhaps there was ſome plot, or ſomething extraordinary. Your grace muſt have heard of this *Guiſcard:* He fled from *France* for villainies there, and was thought on to head an invaſion of that kingdom, but was not liked. I know him well, and think him a fellow of little conſequence, although of ſome cunning, and much villainy. We paſſed by one another this day in the mall, at two o'clock, an hour before he was taken up, and I wondered he did not ſpeak to me.

I write all this to your grace, becauſe I believe you would deſire to know a true account of ſo important an accident; and beſides, I know you will have a thouſand falſe ones; and I believe every material circumſtance here is true, having it from

young Mr. *Harley*. I met Sir *Thomas Manſel* (it was then after ſix this evening) and he and Mr. *Prior* told me, they had juſt ſeen *Guiſcard* carried by in a chair, with a ſtrong guard, to *Newgate*, or the *Preſs-Yard*. Time, perhaps, will ſhew who was at the bottom of all this; but nothing could happen ſo unluckily to *England* at this juncture, as Mr. *Harley's* death, when he hath all the ſchemes for the greateſt part of the ſupplies in his head, and the parliament cannot ſtir a ſtep without him. Neither can I altogether forget myſelf, who, in him, ſhould loſe a perſon I have more obligations to, than any other in this kingdom, who hath always treated me with the tenderneſs of a parent, and never refuſed me any favour I aſked for a friend; therefore I hope your grace will excuſe the diſorder of this letter. I was intending, this night, to have writ one of another ſort. — I muſt needs ſay, one great reaſon for writing theſe particulars to your grace, was, that you might be able to give a true account of the fact, which will be ſome ſort

of

of ſervice to Mr. *Harley*. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

I have read over what I write, and find it very confuſed and incorrect, which your grace muſt impute to the violent pain of mind I am in, greater than ever I felt in my life.—It muſt have been the utmoſt height of deſperate guilt, which could have ſpirited that wretch to ſuch an action; I have not heard whether his wounds are dangerous, but I pray God he may recover to receive his reward, and that we may learn the bottom of his villainy. It is not above ten days ago, that I was interceding with the ſecretary, in his behalf, becauſe I heard he was juſt ſtarving; but the ſecretary aſſured me he had 400 *l.* a year penſion.

LETTER VII.

My Lord, *London, April* 10, 1711.

I HAD lately the honour of a letter from your grace, and waited to acknowledge it until ſomething material ſhould happen, that might recompence the trouble. My occaſion of writing to you at preſent is purely perſonal to your grace. A report was beginning to run here, by ſome letters from *Ireland*, that your grace had applied the paſſage you mention of *Rufus*, in a ſpeech you made to your clergy, which I ventured to contradict as an impoſſibility, and inconſiſtent with your general opinion, and what was in your letter. Mr. *Southwell* and Mr. *Dopping* were of the ſame mind, and the former ſays, he hath writ to your grace about it. I ſhould have thought no more of the matter, but let it ſpend like an idle ſtory below notice; only dining laſt *Sunday* with one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, he gave me a letter to read, which he had juſt received from the printer of the news-paper called the

Post-

Post-Boy, in which was a tranſcript of a letter from *Dublin*, and the ſecretary being mentioned in that tranſcript, the man would not publiſh it without his advice. It contained an account how the news of Mr. *Harley's* being ſtabbed had been received by the whigs in *Dublin*; of which he produced ſome inſtances. Then he mentions the paſſage out of *Tacitus*, and concludes thus: *The firſt that mentioned it was the archbiſhop of* Dublin, *who took notice of it firſt at a meeting of his clergy; and afterwards, in the hearing of ſeveral perſons, was reprimanded for it in a civil, though ſharp manner, by one of the chief miniſters there, well known for his ſteady loyalty to her majeſty, and his zealous ſervice to the church of* England, *under her late perilous trial.* I immediately told the ſecretary, that I knew this muſt be falſe and miſrepreſented, and that he muſt give me leave to ſcratch out that paſſage, which I accordingly did; and for fear of any miſtake, I made him give me afterwards the whole letter, that I might have it in my power. The next day I ſent for the printer, and told him what I had

done, and upon further thoughts, I ſtifled the whole letter, and the ſecretary approved of it. I likewiſe told the printer, that when he had any thing relating to *Ireland*, I had the ſecretary's order (which was true) to ſend it me, that he might not do injury to men's reputations, by what was repreſented to him from ignorant or malicious hands in that kingdom. The letter was to have been printed this day in the Post-Boy, with that concluſion reflecting on your grace, which is happily prevented; for although your character and ſtation place you above the malice of little people, yet your friends would be extremely concerned to ſee your name made ſo bold with in a common news-paper,

I humbly hope your grace will not diſapprove of what I have done; at leaſt I have gratified my own inclination, in the deſire of ſerving you, and beſides, had the opportunity of giving Mr. Secretary ſome part of your character.

I dare lay a wager, that all this happened by the groſs underſtandings of ſome people, who miſunderſtood and miſap-

plied

plied ſomething very innocent that came from your grace. I muſt be ſo bold as to ſay, that people in that kingdom do very ill underſtand raillery. I can railly much ſafer here with a great miniſter of ſtate, or a dutcheſs, than I durſt do there with an attorney or his wife. And I can venture to railly with your grace, although I could not do it with many of your clergy I myſelf have been a witneſs, when want of common ſenſe hath made people offended with your grace, where they ought to have been moſt pleaſed. I ſay things every day at the beſt tables, which I ſhould be turned out of company for if I were in *Ireland.*

Here is one Mr. *Richardſon*, a clergyman, who is ſolliciting an affair that I find your grace approveth, and therefore I do him all the ſervice I can in it.

We are now full of the buſineſs of the *Iriſh* yarn, and I attend among the reſt to engage the members I am acquainted with in our intereſt. To-morrow we expect it will come on.

I will ſhortly write to your grace ſome account how publick affairs ſtand: We

hope Mr. *Harley* will be abroad in a week.

We have news from *Bruſſels*, that the dauphin is dead of an apoplexy.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

I wiſh your grace would incloſe your commands to me, directed to *Eraſmus Lewis*, Eſq; at my lord *Dartmouth's* office at *Whitehall*; for I have left off going to coffee-houſes.

LETTER VIII.

My LORD, *Chelſea, May* 10, 1711.

I HAVE had your grace's letter of *April* 19, ſome time by me, but deferred my anſwer until I could give ſome account of what uſe I had made of it. I went immediately to Mr. Secretary *St. John*,

John, and read moſt of it to him; he was extremely ſatisfied, and very glad that ſcandalous account, deſigned to be printed in the POST-BOY, was ſuppreſſed. Mr. *Harley* was not then quite well enough; ſo I ventured (and hope your grace will not diſapprove it) to ſhew your letter to a gentleman who hath a great reſpect for your grace, and who told me ſeveral others of *Ireland* were poſſeſſed of that report. I truſted the letter with him, and gave him leave to read it to them, which he told me he did, and that they were all entirely convinced: And, indeed, as far as I can find, the report is quite blown over, and hath left no impreſſion. While your grace's letter was out of my hands; dining with Mr. *Harley*, he ſaid to me almoſt as ſoon as he ſaw me; *How came the archbiſhop of* Dublin *and I to fall out?* I told him I knew what he meant; but your grace was altogether miſrepreſented, and it muſt come from ſome infamous raſcals, of which there never wants a ſett in that kingdom, who make it their buſineſs to find wrong characters here, *&c.* He anſwered, that he believed and knew

it was as I ſaid. I added, that I had the honour to be long known to your grace, and that you were the laſt man in the kingdom, upon whom ſuch a report could be fixed with any probability; and that ſince he was pleaſed to mention this matter firſt, he muſt give me leave, the next time I ſaw him, to read a letter I had from your grace in anſwer to one of mine, wherein I had told you of ſuch a report; he ſaid there was no need, for he firmly believed me. I anſwered ſmiling, that ſhould not do, for I would never ſuffer a perſon for whom I had ſo great an eſteem, to lie under the leaſt ſuſpicion of any thing wrong. Laſt *Saturday*, after dinner, I was again to wait on him. On that day of the week, my lord keeper, my lord *Rivers*, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, always uſed to dine with him before this accident, and ſometimes they uſed to let me be of the company. This was the firſt *Saturday* they had met ſince his recovery; and I was in ſuch joy to ſee the old club met again, that it affecteth me ſtill, as your grace ſees by my impertinence in mixing it with an account

that

that only relates to yourſelf. I read thoſe parts of your letter to him, which I thought proper, and both he and the company did very frankly acquit your grace; and Mr. *Harley* in particular ſpoke a good deal of his reſpect and eſteem for you, and then he repeated, that it was no new thing to receive lyes from *Ireland*; which I doubt is ſo true, that no man of diſtinction in that kingdom is ſafe; and I wiſh it were poſſible to take ſome courſe to prevent the evil.

As for libels upon your grace, bating my concern for the ſouls of the writers, I ſhould give you joy of them. You would leſs deſerve your ſtation, if knaves and fools did not hate you; and while theſe ſects continue, may your grace and all good men be the object of their averſion.

My lord keeper, Mr. *Harley*, and one or two more, are immediately to be made peers: The town hath been expecting it for ſome time, although the court make it yet a ſecret; but I can aſſure your grace of the truth, for the preambles to their patents are now drawing, and I ſaw a very

a very handſome one for Mr. *Harley*. You will pleaſe not to mention this particular, although it will be ſoon publick, but it is yet kept mighty private. Mr. *Harley* is to be lord treaſurer. Perhaps before the poſt leaves this town, all this will be openly told, and then I may be laughed at for being ſo myſterious; but ſo capricious are great men in their ſecrets. The firſt authentick aſſurances I had of theſe promotions was laſt *Sunday*, though the expectation hath been ſtrong for above a month. We ſuppoſe, likewiſe, that many changes will be made in the employments as ſoon as the ſeſſion endeth, which will be, I believe, in leſs than a fortnight.

Poor Sir *Cholmondely Deering*, of *Kent*, was yeſterday in a duel ſhot through the body, by one Mr. *Thornhill*, in *Tothilfields*, and died in ſome hours.

I never mention any thing of the firſt fruits either to Mr. *Harley*, or the duke of *Ormond*. If it be done before his grace goes over, it is well, and there's an end: if not, I ſhall have the beſt opportunity of doing it in his abſence; if I ſhould

ſhould ſpeak of it now, perhaps it would be ſo contrived to hinder me from ſolliciting it afterwards; but as ſoon as the duke is gone, I ſhall learn at the treaſury what he hath done in it.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And obliged humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

I have been at this town this fortnight for my health, and to be under a neceſſity of walking to and from *London*, every day. But your grace will pleaſe ſtill to direct your letter under cover to Mr. *Lewis*.

LETTER IX.

My Lord, *London, July* 12, 1711.

I NOW conceive your grace begins to be a buſy perſon in council, and parliament, and convocation, and perhaps may

may be content to be diverted now and then by an idle letter from hence. We have an empty town, the queen being ſettled at *Windſor*, and the miniſters often there. We are ſo weary with expecting further removals, that we begin to drop the diſcourſe: neither am I ſure, whether thoſe in power may not differ a little in opinion as to that matter. However, it ſeemeth generally agreed, that there will be many changes before next ſeſſion, and that it is neceſſary there ſhould be ſo. My lord *Peterborow* hath been ſome time returned, and I have had a good deal of talk with him; or rather, he hath talked a good deal to me. He is mightily diſcontented with what I writ to him, and which he findeth to be true, that there ſeemeth a general diſpoſition among us towards a peace. He thinketh his ſucceſsful negotiations with the emperor and the duke of *Savoy* have put us in a better condition than ever to continue the war, and will engage to convince me, that *Spain* is yet to be had, if we take proper meaſures. Your grace knoweth

he

he is a perſon of great talents, but daſhed with ſomething reſtleſs and capricious in his nature. He told me he came over without being recalled, and without one ſervant, having ſcattered them in ſeveral parts of *Germany*. I doubt he will not have credit enough with the miniſtry to make them follow his plans; and he is ſuch a ſort of perſon as may give good advice, which wiſe men may reaſonably refuſe to follow. It ſeemeth to me that the miniſtry lie under a grievous dilemma from the difficulty of continuing the war, and the danger of an ill peace, which I doubt whether all their credit with the queen and country would ſupport them under: But my lord treaſurer is a ſtranger to fear, and hath all that courage which innocence and good ſenſe can give a man, and the moſt free from avarice of any one living; both which are abſolutely neceſſary for his ſtation in this juncture. He was ſaying a thing to me ſome days ago, which I believe is the great maxim he proceedeth by, that wiſdom in publick affairs was not what is commonly believed the forming of ſchemes with remote views;

views; but the making uſe of ſuch incidents as happen. It was thought my lord *Marr* * would have ſucceeded as ſecretary upon the duke of *Queenſbury's* death; but the court ſeemeth now diſpoſed to have no third ſecretary, which was a uſeleſs charge. The queen hath been extremely ill, ſo as for four and twenty hours people were in great pain; but ſhe hath been ſince much better, and voided abundance of gravel, *&c.* Our expedition under Mr. *Hill* is ſaid to be towards the ſouth-ſeas, but nothing is known: I told a great man who is deepeſt in the project of it, that I had no good opinion of theſe expeditions, which hitherto never ſucceeded with us. He ſaid, he would venture ten to one upon the ſucceſs of it, provided no ill accident happened by ſtorms; and that it was concerted with three or four great princes abroad.

As to the firſt fruits, I muſt inform your grace, that the whole affair lieth

* This earl of *Marr* was one of the firſt that entered into the rebellion in *Scotland* in favour of the pretender in the year 1715.

exactly

exactly as it did for ſome months paſt. The duke and his people never thought, or at leaſt never meddle in it, until ſome days before they went, and then they were told it was not already done; and my lord treaſurer directed that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the lord lieutenant to mention in his ſpeech to parliament, that the queen had done it, &c. But they took no ſort of care to finiſh the matter, and carry the inſtrument over with them, which they might have done, had they begun timely, and applied themſelves; and as the biſhops ſuperſeded me, I did not preſume to meddle further in it: But I think this may be a leſſon, that in all ſuch caſes as theſe it is neceſſary to have ſome good ſollicitor, and not leave things wholely to great men: Nay, ſo little did the duke engage in this matter, that my lord treaſurer told me yeſterday (although that is a ſecret) that the very draught they had made upon my application was ſome way or other miſlaid between the queen and himſelf, and could not be found; but, however, that another ſhould ſoon be drawn: And his lordſhip

commanded me to inform your grace and my lords the biſhops, that with the firſt convenience the inſtrument ſhould be prepared and ſent over, which your grace will pleaſe to let them know. I was of opinion with my lord treaſurer, that it ſhould be done by a deed from the queen, without an act of parliament, and that the biſhops ſhould be made a corporation for the management of it. Your grace ſees I write with much freedom, becauſe I am ſure I can do it ſafely.

I have been engaging my lord treaſurer and the other great men in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, eſpecially his lordſhip. He is to erect ſome kind of ſociety or academy under the patronage of the miniſters, and protection of the queen, for correcting, enlarging, poliſhing, and fixing our language. The methods muſt be left to the ſociety; only I am writing a letter to my lord treaſurer by way of propoſals and ſome general hints, which I deſign to publiſh, and he expecteth from me. All this may come to nothing, although I find the ingenious and learned men of all

my

my acquaintance fall readily in with it; and ſo I hope will your grace, if the deſign can be well executed. I would deſire at leiſure ſome of your grace's thoughts on this matter.

I hope your grace will take advantage of the times, and ſee whether your violent houſe of commons will fall in with ſome good law for the benefit of the church, as their much betters have done it here: And I think the convocation could not be better employed than in conſidering what good law is wanting for the church, and endeavour to have it paſſed, rather than in brangling upon trifles. The church hath ſo few happy occaſions, that we ought to let none of them ſlip. I take up too much of your grace's time, and therefore begging your prayers and bleſſing, I remain, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER X.

My Lord, *London, Auguſt* 15, 1711.

I HAVE been at *Windſor* a fortnight, from whence I returned two days ago, and met a letter at my lodging from your grace dated *July* 25. I was told it was ſent to Mr. *Manly's* houſe (your poſtmaſter's ſon) and by him to me; ſo that I ſuppoſe your grace did not direct to Mr. *Lewis* as formerly, otherwiſe I ſhould have had it at *Windſor*. The miniſters go uſually down to *Windſor* on *Saturday*, and return on *Monday* or *Tueſday* following. I had little opportunity of talking with my lord treaſurer, ſeeing him only at court, or at ſuppers at third places, or in much company at his own lodgings. Yeſterday I went to viſit him after dinner, but did not ſtay above an hour, becauſe buſineſs called him out. I read to him that part of your grace's letter which expreſſeth your grace's reſpects to him, and he received them perfectly well. He told me he had lately received a letter

from the biſhops of *Ireland*, ſubſcribed (as I remember) by ſeventeen, acknowledging his favour about the firſt fruits. I told his lordſhip that ſome people in *Ireland*, doubted whether the queen had granted them before the duke of *Ormond* was declared lieutenant; yes, he ſaid, ſure I remembered it was immediately upon my application. I ſaid I heard the duke himſelf took no merit on that account. He anſwered, no, he was ſure he did not, he was the honeſteſt gentleman alive: But, ſaid he, it is the queen that did it, and ſhe alone ſhall have the merit; and I muſt be ſo free as to tell your grace that the grudging, ungrateful manner of ſome people, which upon ſeveral occaſions I could not but give him hints of for my juſtification, hath not been prudent. I am ſure it hath hindered me from any thoughts of purſuing another affair of yet greater conſequence, which I had good hopes of compaſſing. What can be the matter with thoſe people? Do I aſk either money or thanks of them? Have I done any hurt to the buſineſs? My lord treaſurer told me, he had ſent the letter

over about the firſt fruits. I never enquired into the particulars: He ſays, he will very ſoon anſwer the biſhops letter to himſelf, and will ſhew me both letter and anſwer; but I ſhall not put him in mind, unleſs he remembers it of his own accord. Nor, with great ſubmiſſion to your grace, can I prevail on my own pride to deſire he would make any mention of me in his anſwer. Your grace is convinced, that, unleſs I write a heap of lyes, the queen had granted that affair before my lord duke was named. I deſire to convince no body elſe, and ſince the thing is done, it is not of any conſequence who were inſtrumental in it. I could not forbear yeſterday reminding my lord treaſurer of what I ſaid to Mr. *Southwell* before his lordſhip, when he came to take his leave before he went to *Ireland*; which was, that I hoped Mr. *Southwell* would let the biſhops and clergy of *Ireland* know that my lord treaſurer had long ſince (before the duke was governor) prevailed on the queen to remit the firſt fruits, &c. and that it was his lordſhip's work, as the grant of the ſame favour in

England

England had formerly been. My lord treaſurer did then acknowledge it before Mr. *Southwell*, and I think Mr. *Southwell* ſhould have acted accordingly; but there is a great deal of ignorance, as well as ill will, in all this matter. The duke of *Ormond* himſelf, had he engaged in it, could only act as a ſollicitor. Every body knows that the lord treaſurer in ſuch caſes muſt be applied to (and only he) by the greateſt perſons. I ſhould think the people of *Ireland* might rather be pleaſed to ſee one of their own country able to find ſome credit at court, and in a capacity to ſerve them, eſpecially one who doth it without any other proſpect than that of ſerving them. I know not any of the biſhops from whom I can expect any favour, and there are not many upon whom a man of any figure could have ſuch deſigns; but I will be revenged; for whenever it lieth in my power, I will ſerve the church and kingdom, although they ſhould uſe me much worſe. I ſhall dine to-morrow with lord treaſurer, and perhaps I may then ſee the anſwer he is to write. I thought to

have ſent this letter away to night; but I have been interrupted by buſineſs. I go to *Windſor* again on *Saturday* for a day or two, but I will leave this behind to be ſent to the poſt.

Auguſt 21. I had wrote thus far, and was forced to leave off, being hurried away to *Windſor* by my lord treaſurer, from whence I returned but laſt night. His lordſhip gave me a paper, which he ſaid he had promiſed me; I put it in my pocket, thinking it was about ſomething elſe we had been talking over; and I never looked into it until juſt now, when I find it to be my lord primate's letter to his lordſhip, with an encloſed one from the biſhops. With ſubmiſſion, I take it to be dry enough, although I ſhall not tell his lordſhip ſo. They ſay they *are informed his lordſhip had a great part in*, &c. I think they ſhould either have told who it was informed them ſo, ſince it was a perſon commiſſioned by themſelves; or, at leaſt have ſaid they were *aſſured*. And as for thoſe words, *a great part*, I know no body elſe had any, except the queen

queen herſelf. I cannot tell whether my lord hath writ an anſwer, having ſaid nothing to him of it ſince he gave me the letters, nor ſhall I deſire to ſee it.

As to the convocation, I remember both my lord treaſurer and Mr. *St. John* ſpoke to me about the matter, and were of the ſame opinion with your grace, that it was wholely in the queen's choice; I excuſed giving my opinion, being wholely uninformed; and I have heard nothing of it ſince.

My lord keeper gave me yeſterday a bundle of *Iriſh* votes at *Windſor*, and we talked a good deal about the quarrel between the lords and commons: I ſaid the fault lay not in diſſolving the parliament; which I had mentioned to the duke of *Ormond*, and often to ſome of thoſe who were thought to have moſt credit with him. But they ſeemed to believe as I did, that any *Iriſh* parliament would yield to any thing that any chief governor pleaſed; and ſo it would be a needleſs trouble.

We reckon for certain, that Mr. *Hill* with his fleet is gone to *Quebec*.

Mrs.

Mrs. *Maſham* * is every minute expecting to lye in. Pray God preſerve her life, which is of great importance. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

The queen hath got a light fit of the gout. The privy ſeal is not yet diſpoſed of.

LETTER XI.

My LORD, *Windſor-Caſtle, Oct.* 1, 1711.

I HAD the honour of a long letter from your grace juſt a month ago, which I forbore acknowledging ſooner, becauſe I have been ever ſince perpetually toſſed between this and *London*, and, partly, becauſe there had nothing happened that

* This lady's huſband was created baron *Maſham* of *Oates*, in the county of *Eſſex*, *Dec.* 31, 1711.

might

might make a letter worthy the peruſal. It is the opinion of ſome great perſons here, that the words which the houſe of commons took amiſs in your addreſs, might very well bear an application that concerned only my lord *Wharton*. I find they are againſt my opinion that a new parliament ſhould have been called; but all agree it muſt now be diſſolved: But in ſhort we are ſo extremely buſy here, that nothing of *Ireland* is talked on above a day or two; that of the city * election I have oftenest heard of; and the proceeding of your court in it, it is thought, might have been wiſer. I find your grace ſeemeth to be of my opinion, and ſo I told my lord treaſurer. I think your *Kilmainham* † project of an addreſs was a very fooliſh one, and that for the reaſon of thoſe who were againſt it. I hope *Ireland* will ſoon be equally convinced with us here, that if the pretender be in any body's thoughts, it is of thoſe they

* *Dublin.*

† The high ſheriff and the grand jury of the county of *Dublin* meet here, and prepare addreſſes; examine affidavits, and find bills of indictment. Civil and criminal cauſes are alſo tried here.

leaſt

leaſt dream, and who now are in no condition of doing miſchief to any but themſelves. As for your convocation, I believe every thing there will terminate in good wiſhes. You can do nothing now, and will not meet again theſe two years, and then, I ſuppoſe, only to give money, and away. There ſhould, methinks, in the interval be ſome propoſals conſidered and agreed upon by the biſhops and principal men of the clergy, to have all ready againſt the next meeting; and even that I deſpair of, for a thouſand reaſons too tedious to mention.

My admiring at the odd proceedings of thoſe among the biſhops and clergy who are angry with me for getting their firſt fruits was but a form of ſpeech. I cannot ſincerely wonder at any proceedings in numbers of men, and eſpecially (I muſt venture to ſay ſo) in *Ireland*. Mean time it is a good jeſt to hear my lord treaſurer ſaying often before a deal of company, that it was I that got the clergy of *Ireland* their firſt fruits; and, generally, with this addition, that it was before the duke of *Ormond* was declared lord

lord lieutenant. His lordſhip hath long deſigned an anſwer to the letter he received from the biſhops; he hath told me ten times he would do it to-morrow. He goeth to *London* this day, but I continue here for a week. I ſhall refreſh his memory, and engage my lord *Harley* his ſon to do ſo too.

I ſuppoſe your grace cannot but hear in general of ſome ſteps that are making towards a peace. There came out ſome time ago an account of Mr. *Prior's* journey to *France*, pretended to be a tranſlation, and is a pure invention from beginning to the end. I will let your grace into the ſecret of it. The clamours of a party againſt any peace without *Spain*, and railing at the miniſtry, as if they deſigned to ruin us, occaſioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, by way of furniſhing fools with ſomething to talk of; and it hath had a very great effect. Mean time your grace may count that a peace is going forward very faſt.—Mr. *Prior* was actually in *France*, and there are now two miniſters from that court in *London*, which you may be pretty ſure of,

if

if you believe what I tell you, that I ſupped with them myſelf in the houſe where I am now writing, *Saturday* laſt: Neither do I find it to be a very great ſecret; for there were two gentlemen more with us beſides the inviter. However, I deſire your grace to ſay nothing of it, becauſe it may look like lightneſs in me to tell it: Mr. *Prior* was with us too, but what their names are I cannot tell; for I believe thoſe they paſſed by when I was there are not the real ones. All matters are agreed between *France* and us, and very much to the advantage and honour of *England*; but I believe no further ſteps will be taken without giving notice to the allies. I do not tell your grace one ſyllable, as coming from any great miniſter, and therefore I do not betray them. But there are other ways of picking out things in a court: However, I muſt deſire you will not diſcover any of theſe little particulars, nor cite me upon any account at all; for great men may think I tell things from them, although I have them from other hands; in which laſt caſe only, I venture to repeat them to one

one I can confide in, and one at ſo great a diſtance as your grace.

I humbly thank your grace for the good opinion you are pleaſed to have of me, and for your advice which ſeemeth to be wholely grounded on it. As to the firſt, which relateth ty my fortune, I ſhall never be able to make myſelf believed how indifferent I am about it. I ſometimes have the pleaſure of making that of others; and I fear it is too great a pleaſure to be a virtue, at leaſt in me. Perhaps, in *Ireland*, I may not be able to prevent contempt any other way than by making my fortune; but then it is my comfort, that contempt in *Ireland* will be no ſort of mortification to me. When I was laſt in *Ireland*, I was above half the time retired to one ſcurvy acre of ground, and I always left it with regret. I am as well received and known at court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level; I have formerly been the like. I left it then, and will perhaps leave it now (when they pleaſe to let me) without any concern, but what a few months will remove. It is my maxim to leave great miniſters to

do

do as they pleaſe; and if I cannot diſtinguiſh myſelf enough by being uſeful in ſuch a way, as becometh a man of conſcience and honour, I can do no more; for I never will ſollicit for myſelf, although I often do for others.

The other part of your grace's advice, to be ſome way uſeful to the church and to the publick by any talent you are pleaſed to think I poſſeſs, is the only thing for which I ſhould deſire ſome ſettlement that would make me full maſter of my time. I have often thought of ſome ſubjects, wherein I believed I might ſucceed: but, my lord, to aſk a man floating at ſea what he deſigned to do when he gets on ſhore, is too haſty a queſtion: let him get there firſt, and reſt and dry himſelf, and then look about him. I have been pretty well known to ſeveral great men in my life; and it was their duty, if they thought I might have been of uſe, to put me into a capacity for it; but I never yet knew one great man in my life, who was not every day ſwayed by other motives in diſtributing his favours, whatever reſolutions he had pretended to

make

make to the contrary. I was ſaying a thing the other day to my lord keeper, which he approved of, and which I believe may be the reaſon of this: It was that perſons of tranſcendent merit forced their way in ſpight of all obſtacles; but thoſe whoſe merit was of a ſecond, third, or fourth rate, were ſeldom able to do any thing; becauſe the knaves and dunces of the world had all the impudence, aſſiduity, flattery, and ſervile compliance divided among them, which kept them perpetually in the way, and engaged every body to be their ſollicitors. I was aſking a great miniſter a month ago how he could poſſibly happen to pick out a certain perſon to employ in a commiſſion of diſcovering abuſes, who was the moſt notorious for the conſtant practice of the greateſt abuſes in that very kind, and was very well known not to be at all reformed? He ſaid he knew all this; but what would I have him to do? I anſwered, ſend any one of your footmen, and command him to chuſe out the firſt likely, genteel fellow he ſees in the ſtreets; for ſuch a one might poſſibly be honeſt, but

he was ſure the other was not, and yet they have employed him.

I promiſe your grace that this ſhall be the laſt ſally I will ever make to a court, and that I will return as ſoon as I can have leave. I have no great pleaſure in my preſent manner of living, often involved in things that perplex me very much, and which try my patience to the utmoſt; teized every day by ſollicitors, who have ſo little ſenſe as to think I have either credit or inclination to be theirs, although they ſee I am able to get nothing for myſelf. But I find I am grown very tedious, and therefore conclude, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD, your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LET-

LETTER XII.

My LORD, *London, Nov.* 8, 1711.

I CANNOT in conſcience take up your grace's time with an empty letter; and it is not every day one can furniſh what will be worth your reading. I had all your grace's packets, and I humbly thank your grace for your good inſtructions to me, which I ſhall obſerve as ſoon as ever it ſhall pleaſe God to put me into a way of life, where I can have leiſure for ſuch ſpeculations.

In above twenty years that I have known ſomething of courts and miniſters, I never ſaw ſo ſtrange and odd a complicated diſpoſition of affairs as what we have had for ſix weeks paſt. The facts your grace may have met with in every common news-paper; but the ſprings of them are hardly diſcoverable even by thoſe who had moſt opportunity of obſerving. Neither do I find thoſe who ſhould know beſt, agree upon the matter. There is a perpetual trial of ſkill between thoſe who are out, and thoſe who are in; and the

former are generally more induſtrious at watching opportunities. Laſt *September* at *Windſor* the duke of *Somerſet* *, who had not been at cabinet-council for many months, was adviſed by his friends of the late miniſtry to appear there, but the reſt refuſed to ſit with him; and the council was put off until next day, when the duke went to a horſe race. This was declaring open war, and ever ſince both he and his dutcheſs (who is in great favour) have been uſing all ſorts of means to break the preſent miniſtry. Mrs. *Maſham* was abſent two months from *Windſor*, with lying-in at *Kenſington*, and my lord treaſurer ſix weeks by indiſpoſition. Some time before the ſeſſion, the duke abovementioned went to all thoſe lords, who, by the narrowneſs of their fortunes, have depended on the court, and engaged them to vote againſt the miniſtry, by aſſuring them it was the queen's pleaſure. He is ſaid to have added other powerful motives. *Bothmar's* † memorial was publiſhed juſt

* See the hiſtory of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and of the peace of *Utrecht*.

† Baron BOTHMAR envoy extraordinary from the elector of *Hanover*, afterwards king GEORGE I.

at

at that juncture, as *Hoffman* the emperor's reſident had ſome time before printed the *French* king's propoſitions. It is confidently affirmed by thoſe who ſhould know, that money was plentifully ſcattered. By theſe and ſome other accidents the vote was carried againſt the miniſtry; and every body of either party underſtood the thing as intended directly againſt my lord treaſurer's head. The houſe of lords made a very ſhort adjournment, and were preparing ſome reſolutions and addreſſes of the moſt dangerous importance. We had a very melancholy *Chriſtmas*, and the moſt fearleſs perſons were ſhaken: For our great danger lay where I cannot tell your grace at this diſtance. The thing wiſhed for was the removal of the *Somerſet* family; but that could not be done, nor yet is. After ſome time the queen declared herſelf as you have heard, and twelve new lords were created. My lord *Nottingham's* game in this affair hath been moſt talked of, and ſeveral hard things ſaid of him are affirmed to be true. The diſſenting miniſters in this town were conſulted

about the occaſional bill, and agreed to it, for what reaſons I cannot learn; that which is offered not ſatisfying me, that they were afraid of worſe. I believe they expected an entire change of miniſtry and meaſures, and a new parliament, by which it might be repealed, and have inſtead ſome law to their advantage. The duke of *Marlborough's* removal hath paſſed very ſilently; the particular reaſons for it I muſt tell your grace ſome other time: But how it will paſs abroad I cannot anſwer. People on both ſides conclude from it, that the peace is certain; but the concluſion is ill drawn: The thing would have been done, although we had been ſure of continuing the war. We are terribly affraid of prince *Eugene's* coming, and therefore it was put off until the reſolutions were taken. Before he came out of his yacht, he aſked how many lords were made? He was a quarter of an hour with the queen, on *Sunday* about ſeven at night. The great men reſolve to entertain him in their turns; and we ſuppoſe it will all end in a journey of pleaſure. We are ſo confidently told

of the duke of *Somerſet's* being out, that I wrote to the dean of *St. Patrick's*. A man of quality told me, he had it from my lord keeper, whom I aſked next day, and found it a miſtake; but it is impoſſible to fence againſt all lyes: However, it is ſtill expected that the duke will be out, and that many other removes will be made. Lord *Ranelagh* died on *Sunday* morning: He was very poor and needy, and could hardly ſupport himſelf for want of a penſion, which uſed to be paid him, and which his friends ſollicited as a thing of perfect charity. He *died hard*, as their term of art is here to expreſs the woeful ſtate of men, who diſcover no religion at their death.

The town-talk is, that the duke of *Ormond* will go no more to *Ireland*, but be ſucceeded by the duke of *Shrewſbury*, who is a very great and excellent perſon; and I will hold a wager that your grace will be an admirer of his dutcheſs: If they go, I will certainly order her to make all advances to you; but this is only general report of which they know no-

thing at court, although I think it not altogether improbable.

We have yet heard nothing of my lord privy ſeal. *Buys* the Dutch enjoy went to *Holland*, I think, at the ſame time. *Buys* is a great pretender to politics, and always leaves the company with great expreſſions of ſatisfaction that he hath convinced them all: He took much pains to perſuade me out of ſome opinions; and although all he ſaid did but fix me the deeper, he told the miniſtry how ſucceſsful he had been. I have got poor Dr. *King* *, who was ſome time in *Ireland*, to be Gazetteer, which will be worth 250 *l.* per annum to him, if he be diligent and ſober, for which I am engaged. I mention this, becauſe, I think, he was under your grace's protection when he was in *Ireland*.

By what I gather from Mr. *Southwell*, I believe your grace ſtandeth very well with the duke of *Ormond*; and it is one

* Author of MULLY *of* MOUNTOWN (a moſt delightful village to the ſouth of *Dublin*, near the ſea) and ſeveral other good poems: He alſo tranſlated HORACE's *Art of Poetry* into *Engliſh* verſe.

great

great addition to my eſteem for Mr. *Southwell*, that he is entirely your grace's friend and humble ſervant, delighting to do you juſtice upon all occaſions.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

LETTER XIII.

My Lord, ——, 1712.

PERHAPS you will be content to know ſome circumſtances of affairs here. The duke of *Somerſet* uſually leaveth *Windſor* on *Saturday*, when the miniſters go down thither, and returns not until they are gone. On *Sunday* ſeven-night, contrary to cuſtom, he was at *Windſor*, and a cabinet council was to be held at night; but after waiting a long time, word was brought out, that there would be no cabinet. Next day it was held, and then the duke went to a horſe-race about three miles off. This began

began to be whiſpered; and at my return to town they had got it in the city; but not the reaſon; which was, that Mr. Secretary *St. John* refuſed to ſit if the duke was there. Laſt *Sunday* the duke was there again, but did not offer to come to the cabinet, which was held without him. I hear the duke was adviſed by his friends of the other party to make this ſtep. The ſecretary ſaid to ſome of his acquaintance, that he would not ſit with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, &c. You know the dutcheſs of *Somerſet* is a great favourite, and hath got the dutcheſs of *Marlborough's* key. She is inſinuating, and a woman of intrigue; and will, I believe, do what ill offices ſhe can to the ſecretary. They would have hindered her coming in; but the queen ſaid, If it were ſo, that ſhe could not have what ſervants ſhe liked, ſhe did not find how her condition was mended. I take the ſafety of the preſent miniſtry to conſiſt in the agreement of three great men, lord Keeper, lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Secretary, and ſo I have often told them together

ther between jeſt and earneſt, and two of them ſeparately with more ſeriouſneſs. And I think they intirely love one another; their differences are not of weight to break their union. They vary a little about their notions of a certain general. I will not ſay more at this diſtance. I do not ſee well how they can be without the ſecretary, who hath very great abilities both for the cabinet and parliament. The tories in the city are a little diſcontented, that no further changes are made in employments, of which I cannot learn the ſecret, although I have heard ſeveral, and from ſuch who might tell the true one if they would: one is, that lord treaſurer profeſſeth he is at a loſs to find perſons qualified for ſeveral places: another (which is leſs believed) that the queen interpoſeth: a third, that it is a trimming diſpoſition. I am apt to think that he finds the call for employments greater than he can anſwer, if there were five times as many to diſpoſe of; and I know particularly, that he diſliketh very much the notion of people, that every one is to be turned out. The treaſurer is much

the

the greateſt miniſter I ever knew: regular in life, with a true ſenſe of religion, an excellent ſcholar, and a good divine, of a very mild and affable diſpoſition, intrepid in his notions, and indefatigable in buſineſs, an utter deſpiſer of money for himſelf, yet frugal (perhaps to an extremity) for the publick. In private company he is wholely diſengaged, and very facetious, like one who had no buſineſs at all. He never wants a reſerve upon any emergency, which would appear deſperate to others; and maketh little uſe of thoſe thouſand projectors and ſchematiſts, who are daily plying him with their viſions, but to be thoroughly convinced by the compariſon, that his own notions are the beſt.

I am, my Lord,

With the greateſt reſpect,

Your Grace's

Moſt obedient, &c.

LET-

LETTER XIV.

My Lord, *London, March* 29, 1712.

I CANNOT aſk pardon for not ſooner acknowledging your grace's letter, becauſe that would look as if I thought mine were of conſequence. Either I grew weary of politicks, or am out of the way of them, or there is leſs ſtirring than uſual; and, indeed, we are all in ſuſpence at preſent; but I am told that in ten or twelve days time we ſhall know what the iſſue will be at *Utrecht*. I can only tell your grace, that there are ſome unlucky circumſtances not proper to be truſted to a letter, which have hitherto retarded this great work. *Mihi ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obverſantur.* Mean time we are with great difficulty raiſing funds upon which to borrow five millions. One of thoſe funds is a tax upon paper, and I think 30 *per cent.* upon imported books, and of ſuch a nature as I could not yeſterday forbear ſaying to my lord treaſurer, and the chancellor of the exchequer, that, inſtead of

preventing ſmall papers and libels, it will leave nothing elſe for the preſs. I have not talked to the duke of *Argyle* upon the affairs of *Spain*, ſince his return; but am told he affirms it impoſſible for us to carry on the war there by our former methods. The duke of *Ormond* is expected to go in two or three days for *Flanders*. And what I writ to your grace ſome months ago of the duke of *Shrewſbury* ſucceeding to govern *Ireland*, will, I ſuppoſe, be ſoon declared. I was the other day to ſee the dutcheſs, and reported your grace's compliments, which ſhe took very well; and I told her I was reſolved your grace and ſhe ſhould be very good acquaintance. I believe the ſpirit of your *Houghers* is got into our *Mohawks*, who are ſtill very troubleſome, and every night cut ſome body or other over the face; and commit a hundred inſolent barbarities.

There was never the leaſt deſign of any impeachment againſt the duke of *Marlborough*; and it was his own great weakneſs, or the folly of his friends, that the thing went ſo far as it did.

I know

I know not whether it is, that people have talked themſelves hoarſe, but for ſome weeks paſt we have heard leſs of the pretender than formerly. I ſuppoſe it is like a faſhion got into *Ireland*, when it is out here: but in my conſcience I do not think any one perſon in the court or miniſtry here deſigns any more to bring in the pretender, than the great turk. I hope Mr. *Harley*, who is now on his journey to *Hanover*, will give that court a truer opinion of perſons and things, than they have hitherto conceived. And if your grace knew the inſtrument thro' which theſe falſe opinions have been infuſed, you would allow it another inſtance of the *Ludibrium rerum mortalium*. And your grace cannot but agree, that it is ſomething ſingular for the prince in poſſeſſion to make perpetual advances, and the preſumptive heir ſtanding off and ſuſpicious.

I know not whether your grace hath conſidered the poſition that my lord treaſurer is viſible in. The late miniſtry and their adherents confeſs themſelves fully reſolved to have his head, whenever it is in

in their power, and were prepared upon the beginning of the ſeſſions, when the vote was carried againſt any peace without *Spain*, to move that he ſhould be ſent to the tower: At the ſame time his friends, and the tories in general, are diſcontented at his ſlowneſs in the changing of commiſſions and employments, to which the weakneſs of the court intereſt, in the houſe of lords, is wholely imputed: Neither do I find that thoſe in the greateſt ſtations, or moſt in the confidence of my lord treaſurer, are able to account for this proceeding, or ſeem ſatisfied with it. I have endeavoured to ſolve this difficulty another way; and I fancy I am in the right, from words I have heard let fall: But whatever be the cauſe, the conſequences may be dangerous.

The queen is in very good health, but doth not uſe as much exerciſe as ſhe ought. Pray God preſerve her many years!

A projector hath lately applied to me to recommend him to the miniſtry about an invention for finding out the longitude. He hath given in a petition to the queen by Mr. Sec. *St. John*. I underſtand

ſtand nothing of the mathematicks, but am told it is a thing as improbable as the philoſopher's ſtone, or perpetual motion.

I lately writ a letter of about thirty pages to lord treaſurer, by way of propoſal for an academy, to correct, enlarge, and aſcertain the *Engliſh* language. And he and I have named above twenty perſons of both parties to be members. I will ſhortly print the letter *, and I hope ſomething will come of it. Your grace ſees I am a projector too.

I am, with great reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

* See Vol. III.

LETTER XV.

My LORD, *London, May* 20, 1712.

WHEN I had the honour of your grace's letter of *March* 27, I was lying ill of a cruel diſorder, which ſtill purſueth me, although not with ſo much violence; and I hope your grace will pardon me, if you find my letter to be that of one who writeth in pain. You ſee, my lord, how things are altered. The talk of a new governor for *Ireland* is dropped. The ſecret is, that the duke of *Ormond* had a promiſe of a penſion in caſe he loſt his government; but my lord treaſurer is ſo exceſſively thrifty, that, to ſave charges, he lets the duke keep it; and beſides there are ſome other circumſtances not proper for a letter, which have great weight in this matter. I count upon it, that whatever governor goeth over under this miniſtry, a new parliament will be called. Yet I was told that the duke of *Shrewſbury* was pitched on as

as a ſort of medium between, &c. He is a perſon of admirable qualities; and if he were ſomewhat more active, and leſs timorous in buſineſs, no man would be thought comparable to him.

The moderate of the other party ſeem now content to have a peace, and all our talk and expectations are full of it: But I proteſt to your grace I know not what to write upon this ſubject, neither could I tell what to ſay if I had the honour to be with you. Upon lord *Strafford's* * coming over, the ſtocks are fallen, although I expected and, I thought, with reaſon, that they would riſe. There is a trade between ſome here and ſome in *Holland* of ſecrets and lyes, and there are ſome among us whoſe poſts let them into an imperfect knowledge of things, which they cannot conceal. This mixture maketh up the town-talk, governs the price of ſtocks, and hath often a great deal of truth in it: Beſides publick affairs have often ſo many ſudden turns and in-

* His lordſhip was one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht*.

idents, that even thoſe behind the curtain can hardly pronounce for a week. I am ſenſible that I have often deceived your grace with my wiſe *innuendos*. Yet I verily think that my intelligence was very right at the moment I ſent it. If I had writ to your grace ſix days ago, I would have ventured to have given you hopes that a peace would ſoon appear, and upon condition wholely ſurprizing and unexpected. I ſay this to you wholely in confidence, and I know nothing yet to change my opinion, except the deſponding talk of the town, for I ſee nothing yet in the contrivances of the miniſters. It ſeems generally agreed that the preſent dauphin cannot live, and upon that depend many meaſures to be taken. This afternoon the bill for appointing commiſſioners to enquire into the grants, *&c.* was thrown out of the houſe of lords, the voices being equal, which is a great diſappointment to the court, and matter of triumph to the other party. But it may poſſibly be of the worſt conſequence to the grants next ſeſſion, when it is probable

bable the miniſtry will be better ſettled, and able to procure a majority.

I am, with great reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XVI.

My LORD, *Kenſington, Sept.* 30, 1712,

I HAVE two or three times begun letters to your grace, and have torn what I writ, hoping I might ſend you ſomething deciſive about the peace. But all ſtill continues to lie very looſe, and I continue to be very deſponding, although the people in affairs laugh at me for it. I have one plain maxim in dealing with thoſe who have more cunning and leſs honeſty than myſelf, which is what we call keeping the ſtaff in my own hand,

and contriving that they ſhall truſt me rather than I them. A man may reaſon until he is weary upon this proceeding of the *Dutch*. The ſoldiers tell me that the duke of *Ormond* could not poſſibly take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, ſince the foreign troops have refuſed to march, and that the ſtates will not ſuffer us to go through their towns. But I had a whiſper from one who ſhould know beſt, that *Dunkirk* might now have been ours, if right methods had been taken. And another great man ſaid to a friend of mine above a fortnight ago, that the leaſt wrong ſtep on that ſide the water might have very ill conſequences at this juncture. Mean time the diſcontented party ſeemeth full of hopes, and many of the court ſide beſide myſelf deſponding enough. The neceſſity of laying the propoſals before the parliament drew us into all this; for now we are in a manner pinned down, and cannot go back an inch with any good grace: So that if the *French* play us foul, I dread the effects, which are too viſible to doubt. And on the other ſide, if the peace goeth ſmoothly on, I cannot but

but think that ſome ſevere enquiries will be made; and I believe upon very manifeſt grounds. If there be any ſecret in this matter of *Dunkirk*, it muſt be in very few hands, and thoſe who moſt converſe with men at the helm, are, I am confident, very much in the dark. Some people go ſo far as to think that the *Dutch* will hinder even the *Engliſh* forces under the duke of *Ormond* from going by the *French* country to *Dunkirk:* But I cannot be of that opinion. We ſuppoſe a few days will decide this matter, and I believe your grace will agree that there was never a more nice conjuncture of affairs; however, the court appears to be very reſolute: Several changes have been made, and more are daily expected. The *Dutch* are grown ſo unpopular, that, I believe, the queen might have addreſſes to ſtand by her againſt them with lives and fortunes.

I had your grace's letter of *May* 29, written in the time of your viſiting, from whence I hope you are returned with health and ſatisfaction.

The difficulties in the peace by the accidents in the *Bourbon* family are, as your grace obſerveth, very great, and what indeed our miniſters chiefly apprehended. But we think *Philip's* renouncing to be an effectual expedient, not out of any regard he would have for it, but becauſe it will be the intereſt of every prince of the blood in *France* to keep him out, and becauſe the *Spaniards* will never aſſiſt him to unite the two kingdoms.

I am in hopes yet that your grace may pay your treat, for it is yet four weeks to *November*, at leaſt I believe we ſhall be happy or ruined before that time.

It is certain that there is ſomething in what people ſay But the court is ſo luckily conſtituted at preſent, that every man thinks the chief truſt cannot be any where elſe ſo well placed, neither do I know above one man that would take it, and it is a great deal too ſoon for him to have ſuch thoughts.

I humbly thank your grace for your concern about my health: I have ſtill the remainder of ſome pains which hath partly occaſioned my removing hither about three

three weeks ago. I was recommended to country air, and choſe this, becauſe I could paſs my time more agreeably near my friends at court. We think the queen will go to *Windſor* in three weeks; and I believe I ſhall be there moſt of the time I ſtay in *England*, which I intend until towards the end of ſummer.

My lord treaſurer hath often promiſed he will advance my deſign of an academy, ſo have my lord keeper, and all the miniſters; but they are now too buſy to think of any thing beſide what they have upon the anvil. My lord treaſurer and I have already pitched upon twenty members of both parties; but perhaps it may all come to nothing.

If things continue as they are another ſeſſion, perhaps your grace may ſee the bill of reſuming the grants * carried on with a great deal more rigour than it lately was. It was only deſired that the grantees ſhould pay ſix years purchaſe, and ſettle the remainder on them by act of parliament, and thoſe grants are now worſe than other lands by more years pur-

* This bill paſſed in the negative.

chaſe than ſix; ſo that in effect they would have loſt nothing.

I am, with great reſpect,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XVII.

My LORD, *London, October* 21, 1712.

SINCE I had the honour of your grace's letter of *July* 29, which found me at *Windſor*, I have been extremely out of order with a giddineſs in my head, which purſued me until very lately, that by an uneaſy courſe of phyſic I hope I have in ſome ſort overcome it.

We are now in very near expectation of a peace; and your grace, I hope, will believe it as good a one as the circumſtances of things would allow. I confeſs I agree with your grace, that the great difficulty was about the danger of *France* and

and *Spain* being united under one king. To my knowledge all poſſible means have been taken to ſecure that matter; and yet, after all, the weakeſt ſide will be there. Renunciations by *France* have very juſtly ſo little credit, that I do not wonder ſo little weight is laid on them. But *Spain* we are ſure will, for their own ſakes, enter into all ſecurities to prevent that union, and all the allies muſt be guarantees. If you ſtill object that ſome danger ſtill remains, what is to be done? Your grace is altogether miſinformed, if you think that this is at all the difficulty which ſo long made the *Dutch* untractable. It was nothing leſs: Neither have they once mentioned, during all the negociations at *Utrecht*, one ſyllable of getting *Spain* out of the *Bourbon* family, or into that of *Auſtria*, as the chief men have aſſured me not three days ago. *Buys* offered laſt winter to eaſe us immediately of the trouble we were in by lord *Nottingham's* vote, if we would conſent to let them ſhare with us in the advantages we had ſtipulated with *France*; which advantages,

tages, however, did by no means claſh with *Holland*, and were only conditional if peace ſhould enſue. But, my lord, we know further, that the *Dutch* made offers to treat with *France*, before we received any from thence; and were refuſed, upon the ill uſage they gave Mr. *Torcy* at the *Hague*, and the *Abbe de Polignac*, afterwards at *Gertruydenberg:* And we know that *Torcy* would have been forced to apply to them again, if, after ſeveral refuſals, we had not harkened to their overtures. What I tell your grace is infallibly true; and care ſhall be taken very ſoon to ſatisfy the world in this, and many other particulars at large, which ought to be known. For the kingdom is very much in the dark after all the pains hitherto taken to inform it. Your grace's conjectures are very right, that a general peace would not be for our intereſt, if we had made ours with *France*. And I remember a certain great man uſed to ſay two months ago, *fight on, fight on, my merry men all.* I believe likewiſe that ſuch a peace would have happened, if the *Dutch* had not lately been more

more compliant; upon which our miniſters told thoſe of *France*, that ſince the ſtates were diſpoſed to ſubmit to the queen, her majeſty muſt enter into their intereſts: And I believe they have as good conditions as we ever intended they ſhould. *Tournay*, I hope, will be yielded to them: And *Liſle* we never deſigned they ſhould have. The emperor will be uſed as he deſerveth; and having paid nothing for the war, ſhall get nothing by the peace. We are moſt concerned (next to our regard to *Holland)* for *Savoy* *, and *France* for *Bavaria*. I believe we ſhall make them both kings, by the help of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. But I know not how plans may alter every day. The queen's whole deſign, as your grace conjectureth, is to act the part of a mediator; and our advantages, too many to inſert here, muſt be owned very great.

As for an academy to correct and ſettle our language, lord treaſurer talked of it often very warmly; but, I doubt, is yet too buſy until the peace be over. He

* VICTOR AMADEUS, king of *Sicily* by this duke of *Savoy*, was made treaty.

goes

goes down to *Windſor* on *Friday* to be choſen of the garter, with five more lords *.

I know nothing of promiſes of any thing intended for myſelf; but I thank God I am not very warm in my expectations, and know courts too well to be ſurpriſed at diſappointments, which however I ſhall have no great reaſon to fear, if I gave my thoughts any trouble that way, which, without affectation, I do not; although I cannot expect to be believed when I ſay ſo. I am, *&c.*

LETTER XVIII.

My LORD, *London, Jan.* 3, 1713.

SINCE I had the honour of your grace's letter, we have had a dead time of news and politics, and I make a

* *Henry* duke of *Beaufort*, captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners; *James*, duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*, maſter-general of the ordnance; *Henry*, duke of *Kent*; *John*, earl of *Poulet*, lord ſteward of the houſhold; *Robert*, earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, lord high treaſurer of *Great-Britain*; and *Thomas*, earl of *Strafford*, one of the plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, *October* 26, 1712.

conſcience

conſcience of writing to yon without ſomething that will recompence the trouble of reading. I cannot but grant that your grace, who is at a diſtance, and argues from your own wiſdom, and general obſervations and reading, is likely to be more impartial than I, who, in ſpight of my reſolutions and opinion to the contrary, am forced to converſe only with one ſide of the world, which faſteneth prejudice to me, notwithſtanding all I can do to avoid them. Your grace hath certainly hit upon the weak ſide of our peace; but I do not find you have preſcribed any remedies. For that of limiting *France* to a certain number of ſhips and troops, was, I doubt, not to be compaſſed. While that mighty kingdom remaineth under one monarch, it will be always in ſome degree formidable to its neighbours. But we flatter ourſelves it is likely to be leſs ſo than ever, by the concurrence of many circumſtances too long to trouble you with. But, my lord, what is to be done? I will go ſo far with your grace as to tell you, that ſome of our friends are of opinion with the other

party, that if this laſt campaign had gone on with the conjunction of the *Britiſh* troops, *France* might have been in danger of being driven to great extremity. Yet I confeſs to you at the ſame time, that if I had been firſt miniſter, I ſhould have adviſed the queen to purſue her meaſures towards a peace.

Some accidents and occaſions have put it in my way to know every ſtep of this treaty better I think than any man in *England*. And I do aſſert to your grace, that if *France* had been cloſely puſhed this campaign, they would, upon our refuſal, have made offers to *Holland*, which the republick would certainly have accepted; and in that caſe the intereſt of *England* would have been wholely laid aſide, as we ſaw it three years ago at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*. The marſhal *d'Uxilles* and *Meſnager* *, two of the *French* plenipotentiaries were wholely inclined to have begun by the *Dutch*; but

* This gentleman wrote *Minutes* of his *Negociations* at the court of *England*, during the four laſt years of queen ANNE's reign, containing many curious particulars.

the

the third Abbe *de Polignac*, who hath moſt credit with Monſieur *Torcy*, was for beginning by *England*.

There was a great faction in *France* by this proceeding, and it was a mere perſonal reſentment, in the *French* king and Monſieur *Torcy*, againſt the ſtates, which hindered them from ſending the firſt overture there. And I believe your grace will be convinced, by conſidering that the demands of *Holland* might be much more eaſily ſatisfied than thoſe of *Britain*. The ſtates were very indifferent about the article of *Spain* being in the *Bourbon* family, as Monſieur *Buys* publicly owned when he was here, and among others to myſelf. They valued not the demolition of *Dunkirk*, the frontier of *Portugal*, nor the ſecurity of *Savoy*. They abhorred the thoughts of our having *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, nor cared what became of our dominions in *North-America*. All they had at heart was the ſovereignty of *Flanders* under the name of a barrier, and to ſtipulate what they could for the emperor, to make him eaſy under their en-

croachments. I can further aſſure your grace, before any propoſals were ſent here from *France*, and ever ſince, until within theſe few months, the *Dutch* have been endeavouring conſtantly, by private intrigues with that court, to undermine us, and put themſelves at the head of a treaty of peace, which is a truth that perhaps the world may ſoon be informed in, with ſeveral others that are little known. Beſides, my lord, I doubt whether you have ſufficiently reflected on the condition of this kingdom, and the poſſibility of purſuing the war at that ruinous rate. This argument is not the weaker for being often urged. Beſides, *France* is likely to have a long minority; or, if not, perhaps to be engaged in a civil war. And I do not find that in public affairs human wiſdom is able to make proviſions for futurity, which are not liable to a thouſand accidents. We have done all we can; and, for the reſt, *curent poſteri.*

Sir *William Temple's* memoirs, which you mentioned, is his firſt part, and was publiſhed twenty years ago; it is chiefly

of

of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and was ſo well known, that I could hardly think you grace hath not ſeen it.

I am in ſome doubt whether a fall from a horſe be ſuitable to the dignity of an archbiſhop. It is one of the chief advantages in a great ſtation, that one is exempt from common accidents of that kind. The late king * indeed got a fall; but his majeſty was a fox-hunter. I queſtion whether you can plead any precedent to excuſe you; and therefore I hope you will commit no more ſuch errors: And in the mean time I heartily congratulate with your grace, that I can rally you upon this accident.

I am in ſome fear that our peace will hardly be concluded in ſeveral weeks, by reaſon of a certain incident that could not be foreſeen; neither can I tell whether the parliament will ſit before the concluſion of the peace; becauſe ſome perſons differ in their politicks about the matter. If others were no wiſer than I,

* King WILLIAM III, who died by a fall from his horſe.

your ſeſſion ſhould not be deferred upon that account.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your Grace's

Moſt dutiful,

And humble ſervant,

LETTER XIX.

My LORD, *London, March* 28, 1713.

ALTHOUGH your humour of delaying, which is a good deal in faſhion, might ſerve me for authority and example in not ſooner acknowledging your grace's letter, I ſhall not make that uſe of it, but naturally tell you that the public delay hath been the cauſe of mine. We have lived almoſt theſe two months paſt by the week, expecting that part would meet, and the queen tell them that the peace was ſigned. But unforeſeen difficulties have ariſen, partly by ſome miſtakes in our plenipotentiaries, as

as well as thoſe of *France*, too long to trouble your grace with, ſince we never reckon all will be at an end; and the queen hath ſent new powers to *Utrecht*, which her miniſters there muſt obey, I think, or be left without excuſe. The peace will be ſigned with *France*, *Holland*, the Emperor, *Savoy*, *Portugal*, and *England*; but *Spain* hath yet no miniſter at *Utrecht*, the *Dutch* making difficulties about the duke *D'Oſſune's* paſſports, but the marquis *De Montellion* will ſoon begin his journey, at leaſt he tells me ſo. However, it is of no great moment whether *Spain* cometh in now or a month hence, and the parliament will be ſatisfied with the reſt. People here have grumbled at thoſe prorogations until they are weary, but they are not very convenient, conſidering how many funds are out, and how late it is in the year. They think of taking off two ſhillings in the pound from the land tax; which I always argued earneſtly againſt: But the court had a mind to humour the country gentlemen, and the thing is popular enough; but then we muſt borrow upon

new funds, which it will be of the laſt difficulty to invent or to raiſe. The other party are employed in ſpreading a report moſt induſtriouſly, that the lord treaſurer intends, after the peace, to declare for the whigs. They have ſpread it in *Scotland*, to prepare people for the next election; and Mr. *Anneſly* told me the other day at my lord ſteward's, that he had heard I writ the ſame to my friends in *Ireland*; which, as it is wholly without ground, ſo the fact is what I never had the leaſt belief of, although his lordſhip is ſomewhat of your grace's mind, in not refuſing to converſe with his greateſt enemies; and therefore he is cenſured, as, you ſay, you are upon the ſame account. And to thoſe who charge him with it (as ſome are free enough to do it) he only ſays his friends ought to truſt him; and I have ſome reaſon to believe, that after a peace the direct contrary will appear. For my own part I entirely agree with your grace, that a free man ought not to confine his converſe to any one party; neither would I do ſo, if I were free; but I am not, and perhaps much

leſs is a great miniſter in ſuch a juncture as this. Among many qualities I have obſerved in the treaſurer, there is one which is ſomething ſingular, that he will be under an imputation, how wrong ſoever, without the pains of clearing himſelf to his neareſt friends, which is owing to great integrity, great courage, or great contempt of cenſure. I know he hath abundance of the two laſt, and I believe he has the firſt.

Your grace's obſervations on the *French* dexterity in negotiation, as well as their ill faith, are certainly right; but let both be as great as poſſible, we muſt treat with them one time or other; and if miniſters will not be upon their guard againſt ſuch notorious managers, they are altogether inexcuſable. But I do aſſure your grace, that, as it hath fallen in my way to know more of the ſteps of this whole treaty than perhaps any one man beſides, I cannot ſee that any thing in the power of human prudence, under many difficult conjunctures, hath been omitted. We have been forced to conceal the beſt ſide, which I agree hath been unfortunate and

unpopular; but you will pleaſe to conſider, that this way of every ſubject interpoſing their ſentiments upon the management of foreign negotiations is a very new thing among us, and the ſuffering it hath been thought in the opinion of wiſe men too great a ſtrain upon the prerogative; eſpecially giving a detail of particulars, which, in the variety of events, cannot be aſcertained during the courſe of a treaty.—I could eaſily anſwer the objection of your grace's friends in relation to the *Dutch*, and why they made thoſe difficulties at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*. And when the whole ſtory of theſe two laſt intriguing years comes to be publiſhed, the world will have other notions of our proceedings. This perhaps will not be long untold, and might already have been, if other people had been no wiſer than [illegible]. After all, my lord, I grant that, from a diſtant view of things, abundance of objections may be raiſed againſt many parts of our conduct. But the difficulties which gave room to theſe objections are not ſeen, and perhaps ſome of them will never appear, neither may

may it be convenient they ſhould. If in the end it appears, that we have made a good bargain for you, we hope you will take it without entering too nicely into the circumſtances. I will not undertake to defend our proceedings againſt any man who will not allow this poſtulatum, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war any longer; which whoever denies either hath not examined the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to its debts, or denies it from the ſpirit of party. When a friend of mine objected this to lord *Nottingham*, he freely confeſſed it was a thing he had never conſidered. But, however, he would be againſt any peace without *Spain*; and why? Becauſe he was not privy ſeal. But then, why doth he vote with the whigs in every thing elſe, although peace hath no concern? Becauſe he was not privy ſeal. I hope, my lord, we ſhall in time unriddle you many a dark problem, and let you * ſee that faction, rage, rebellion, revenge and ambition were deeply rooted in the hearts

* See an account of the peace of *Utrecht*, in the hiſtory of the four laſt years of queen ANNE.

of

of thoſe who have been the great obſtructors of the queen's meaſures, and of the kingdom's happineſs; and, if I am not miſtaken, ſuch a ſcene may open, as will leave the preſent age and poſterity little room to doubt who were the real friends and real enemies of their country. At the ſame time I know nothing is ſo raſh as predicting upon the events of public council, and I ſee many accidents very poſſible to happen, which may ſoon defeat all my conjectures.

I am, my LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt dutiful, and

Moſt obedient humble ſervant.

LETTER XX.

My LORD, *London, April* 30, 1713.

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter of the 1, th, which at preſent I cannot anſwer particularly: I ſend this to welcome

welcome your grace to the *Bath*, where we conclude you are now arrived; and I hope the deſign of your journey is more for prevention than cure. I ſuppoſe your grace hath heard that the queen hath made Dr. *Sterne* biſhop of *Dromore*, and that I am to ſucceed him in his deanry. Dr. *Parnell* *, who is now in town, writ laſt poſt to your grace to deſire the favour of you that he may have my ſmall prebend: He thinketh it will be ſome advantage to come into the chapter, where it may poſſibly be in my power to ſerve him in a way agreeable to him, although in no degree equal to his merits; by which he hath diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that he is in great eſteem with the miniſtry and others of the moſt valuable perſons in this town. He hath been many years under your grace's direction,

* A very eminent poet. Two volumes of whoſe poems are publiſhed, the firſt by Mr. Pope, in the year 1721, dedicated to Robert Harley, earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*. The other was printed in *Dublin* in the year 1758, with the following title: *The Poſthumous Works of Dr.* Thomas Parnell, *late archdeacon of* Clogher; *containing Poems moral and divine; and on other various ſubjects.*

Dignum laude virum Muſa vetat mori. Hor.

and

and hath very good title to your favour; ſo that I believe it will be unneceſſary to add how much I ſhould be obliged to your grace's compliance in this matter: And I flatter myſelf that his being agreeable to me will be no diſadvantage to him in your grace's opinion.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXI.

My Lord, *London, May* 23, 1713.

I HAD the honour of a letter from your grace, the 18th inſtant, from *Cheſter*. I was confidently told about three weeks ago that your grace was expected every day at the *Bath*; and you will find a letter there as old as that, with a requiſition in favour of Dr. *Parnell*, who, by his own merit, is in the eſteem

eſteem of the chief miniſters here. I am very ſenſible, that the loſs your grace hath ſuffered in the removal of Dr. *Sterne* will never be made up by me upon a great many accounts: However, I ſhall not yield to him in reſpect and veneration for your grace's character and perſon; and I return you my moſt grateful acknowledgments for the offer you make me of your favour and protection. I think to ſet out for *Ireland* on *Monday* ſeven-night, to be there before the term endeth; for ſo they adviſe me, becauſe the long vacation follows, in which I cannot take the oaths, unleſs at a quarter ſeſſions, and I had better have two chances than one. This will hinder me from paying my reſpects to your grace at the *Bath*; and indeed my own health would be better, I believe, if I could paſs a few weeks there: but my remedy ſhall be riding, and a ſea voyage. I have been enquiring, and am told your grace's cauſe will hardly come on this ſeſſion; but indeed I have been ſo much out of order for theſe ten days paſt, that I have been able to do nothing.

As to the ſpire * to be erected on *St. Patrick's* ſteeple, I am apt to think it will coſt more than is imagined; and I am confident that no bricks made in that part of *Ireland* will bear being expoſed ſo much to the air: However, I ſhall enquire among ſome architects here.

I hope your grace will find a return of your health in the place where you are. I humbly beg your bleſſing, and remain, with great reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

* Dr. Sterne (predeceſſor to Dr. Swift, as dean of *St. Patrick's* Cathedral, *Dublin*) afterwards biſhop of *Dromore*, from whence he was tranſlated to the ſee of *Clogher*, left a ſum of money to erect a ſpire on the top of that ſteeple, which was built a few years after his lordſhip's death. It is an octagon of many feet high, built of white hard mountain ſtone, with a gilt ball at the top of it, which may be ſeen at the diſtance of many miles.

LET-

LETTER XXII.

My Lord, *Trim, July* 16, 1713.

I HAVE been about five weeks in this kingdom, but ſo extremely ill with the return of an old diſorder in my head, that I was not able to write to your grace. I have been the greateſt part of that time at my country pariſh, riding every day for my health. I can tell your grace nothing from *Dublin*, having ſpent the days I was there between buſineſs and phyſic, and paid no viſits nor received any but one day; and I reckon it no great loſs, for I hear they are all party-mad; and it is one felicity of being among willows, that one is not troubled with faction. I hope you have as little of it at the *Bath*; for I cannot fancy it doth well with waters. If your grace goeth to *London* from the *Bath*, I believe I may have the honour of waiting on you, although I ſhall do all in my power to ſave the trouble of ſuch a journey, which neither my fortune nor

nor my health will very well bear. I hope you feel the good effects of the place you are in, and I pray God to continue your life for the good of his church.

The other day Mr. *Thaker*, prebendary of *Sagard*, and vicar of *Rathcool*, died; and it would be a great mark of goodneſs in your grace, as well as a perſonal favour to me, if you would pleaſe to diſpoſe of his livings in favour of Mr. *Thomas Warburton*, who hath been many years my aſſiſtant in the cure of *Laracor*, hath behaved himſelf altogether unblameably, and is a gentleman of very good learning and ſenſe. If I knew any one more deſerving, I would not recommend him; neither would I do it however, becauſe I know your grace hath a great many dependents, but that it will be a great uſe to me to have a vicar in one of my rectories, and upon my deanry, in whom I can confide. I am told the livings amount to an hundred and twenty pounds a year at moſt; and it may probably happen in my way to be able to oblige ſome friend of yours in a greater matter, which I ſhall very

very readily do. I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXIII.

My LORD, *London, Oct.* 20, 1713.

THE opportunity I had of a ſhip was ſo ſudden, that I had not time to receive your grace's laſt commands, or pay my reſpects, which it was my duty and inclination to do; and as for writing I have always told your grace, that I could not ſet about it with a good conſcience, until I were provided with matter enough for your trouble of reading. We are outwardly pretty quiet during this interval of parliament; but I will not anſwer what ſeeds are ſowing to make the next ſpring produce better fruit. There are ſeveral reaſons impoſſible for me to tell at this diſtance, why I ſhall not be ſo

good a correſpondent as I have formerly been, but may probably ſerve to entertain you a year or two hence: For the faſhion of this world paſſeth away; and there is nothing of ſo little conſequence as the greateſt court ſecrets when once the ſcene is changed. I ſaid to ſomebody, when I was laſt in *Ireland*, who talked to me of the advantage and felicity I had in the familiarity of great miniſters, that it was well enough while it continued a vanity; but as ſoon as it ceaſed to be a vanity, it began to be a vexation of ſpirit. I have ſome thoughts of paſſing this winter at the *Bath*, becauſe my health requireth it, and becauſe I ſhall then be at a pretty equal diſtance from the factions on both ſides the water; for it is not impoſſible your grace may have a warm winter.

I have had ſome letters, particularly from Dr. *Synge* and Mr. Archdeacon *Walls*, about my being prolocutor. I have this poſt writ my thoughts upon that ſubject to Mr. *Walls*, and, to ſave you the trouble, have deſired him to communicate them to your grace. Our elections for the city ſtill continue: I was

this afternoon at *Guild-hall.* I find three of the old members, and *Withers*, who is the loweſt, telleth me, he doth not deſpair of carrying it for himſelf. There is abundance of artifice (to give it the ſofteſt word) uſed on both ſides.

I came yeſterday from *Windſor*, where I ſaw the queen in very good health, which ſhe findeth there more than any where elſe, and I believe will hardly remove until *December.* I believe my lord lieutenant * will be landed before this letter cometh to your hands: He is the fineſt gentleman we have, and of an excellent underſtanding and capacity for buſineſs: If I were with your grace I would ſay more, but leave it to your own ſagacity.

I will only venture to ſay one thing relating to *Ireland*, becauſe I believe it will be of uſe that your grace ſhould know it. If your houſe of commons ſhould run into any violences diſagreeable to us here, it will be of the worſt conſequences imaginable to that kingdom: For I know no maxim more ſtrongly main-

* CHARLES TALBOT, duke of *Shrewſbury*, earl of *Waterford* and *Wexford.*

tained at preſent in our court, than that her majeſty ought to exert her power to the utmoſt upon any uneaſineſſes given on your ſide to herſelf or her ſervants: Neither can I anſwer, that even the legiſlative power here may not take cognizance of any thing that may paſs among you in oppoſition to the perſons and principles that are now favoured by the queen. Perhaps I am gone too far; and therefore ſhall end without any ceremony.

Your Grace's, &c.

Direct to me under cover to *Eraſmus Lewis*, Eſq; at Mr. Secretary *Bromley's* office at *Whitehall*.

LETTER XXIV.

My LORD, *London, Sept.* 31, 1713.

YOUR grace's letter, which I received but laſt poſt, is of an earlier date than what have ſince arrived. We have received the addreſs for removing the chancellor *, and the counter addreſſes

* Sir CONSTANTINE PHIPPS, lord high chancellor of *Ireland*.

from

from the lords and convocation; and you will know, before this reacheth you, our ſentiments of them here. I am at a loſs what to ſay in this whole affair. When I wrote to you before, I dropt a word, on purpoſe for you to take notice of; that our court ſeemed reſolved to be very firm in their reſolutions about *Ireland*. I think it impoſſible for the two kingdoms to proceed long upon a different ſcheme of politicks. The controverſy with the city I am not maſter of: It took its riſe before I ever concerned myſelf in the affairs of *Ireland*, further than to be an inſtrument of doing ſome ſervices to the kingdom, for which I have been ill requited. But, my lord, the queſtion with us here is, whether there was a neceſſity that the other party ſhould be a majority? There was put into my hands a liſt of your houſe of commons by ſome who know the kingdom well: I deſired they would (as they often do here) ſet a mark on the names of thoſe who would be for the miniſtry, who I found amounted to one hundred and forty-three, which I think comes within an equality: Twenty

names beſides they could not determine upon: So that ſuppoſe eight to be of the ſame ſide, there would be a majority by one: But beſides we reckon that the firſt number one hundred and forty-three would eaſily riſe to a great majority, by the influence of the government, if that had been thought fit. This is demonſtration to us; for the government there hath more influence than the court here; and yet our court carried it for many years againſt a natural majority, and a much greater one. I ſhall not examine the reaſons among you for proceeding otherwiſe; but your grace will find that we are determined upon the concluſion, which is, that *Ireland* muſt proceed on the ſame foot with *England*. I am of opinion, my lord, that nothing could do more hurt to the whig party in both kingdoms, than their manner of proceeding in your houſe of commons. It will confirm the crown and miniſtry that there can be no ſafety, while thoſe people are able to give diſturbance; and indeed the effects it hath already produced here are hardly to be believed: Neither do we here

here think it worth our while to be oppoſed and encourage our enemies only for 70,000*l.* a year; to ſupply which it may not be hard to find other expedients; and when there ſhall be occaſion for a parliament, we are confident a new one may be called with a majority of men in the intereſt of the queen and church; for when the preſent majority pretends to regard either, we look upon ſuch profeſſions to ſignify no more than if they were penned by my lord *Wharton*, or Mr. *Moleſworth* *. I have ſuffered very much for my tenderneſs to ſome perſons of that party, which I ſtill preſerve; but I believe it will not be long in my power to ſerve thoſe who may want it. It would be endleſs to recount to your grace the reproaches that have been made me on account of your neighbour.

It is but true, my lord, we do not care to be troubled with the affairs of *Ireland*; but there being no war, nor meeting of parliament, we have leiſure at preſent: Beſides, we look on ourſelves as touched

* Created lord viſcount *Moleſworth* by king GEORGE I.

in the tendereſt part. We know this whig party are preparing to attack us next ſeſſions, and their prevailing in *Ireland* would, we think, be a great ſtrength and encouragement to them here: Beſides, our remiſſneſs would diſhearten our friends, and make them think we acted a trimming game: There are ſome things which we much wonder at, as they are repreſented: The addreſs for removing the chancellor is grounded upon two facts; in the former of which he was only concerned with ſeveral others. The criminal was poor and penitent; and a *noli proſequi* was no illegal thing. As to *Moore's* buſineſs, the chancellor's ſpeech on that occaſion hath been tranſmitted hither, and ſeemeth to clear him from the imputation of prejudging. Another thing we wonder at, is to find the commons in their votes approve the ſending for the guards, by whom a man was killed. Such a thing would, they ſay, look monſtrous in *England*.

Your grace ſeemeth to think they would not break on money matters; but we are taught another opinion, that they will not

not paſs the great bill until they have ſatiſfaction about the chancellor; and what the conſequence of that will be I ſuppoſe you may gueſs from what you know by this time.

My lord, we can judge no otherwiſe here than by the repreſentations made to us. I ſincerely look upon your grace to be maſter of as much wiſdom and ſagacity as any perſon I have known, and from my particular reſpect to you and your abilities ſhall never preſume to cenſure your proceedings, until I am fully apprized of the matter. Your grace is looked upon here as altogether in the other party, which I do not allow when it is ſaid to me. I conceive you to follow the dictates of your reaſon and conſcience; and whoever does that will, in public management, often differ as well from one ſide as another.

As to myſelf, I take *Ireland* to be the worſt place to be in while the parliament ſits, and probably I may think the ſame of *England* in a month or two. I have few obligations (further than perſonal friendſhip and civilities) to any party: I have

have nothing to aſk for but a little money to pay my debts, which I doubt they never will give me; and, wanting wiſdom to judge better, I follow thoſe who, I think, are moſt for preſerving the conſtitution in church and ſtate, without examining whether they do ſo from a a principle of virtue or of intereſt.

LETTER XXV.

My LORD, *Dublin, Nov.* 13, 1716.

THE reaſon I never gave your grace the trouble of a letter was, becauſe it would only be a trouble without either entertainment or uſe; for I am ſo much out even of this little world, that I know not the commoneſt occurrences in it; neither do I now write to your grace upon any ſort of buſineſs, for I have nothing to aſk but your bleſſing and favourable thoughts; only I conceived it ought not to be ſaid, that your grace was ſeveral months abſent in *England*, without one letter from the dean to pay his reſpects. My ſchemes are all circumſcribed

ſcribed by the cathedral, and the liberties about it, where nothing of moment hath happened ſince your grace left it, except the election of Mr. *Chamberlain* to St. *Nicholas*, which paſſed quietly while I was abſent in the country. I am purchaſing a glebe by the help of truſtees for the vicarage of *Laracor*; and I had vanity enough to deſire it might be expreſſed by a clauſe in the deeds, as one conſideration, that I had been inſtrumental in procuring the firſt fruits; which was accordingly inſerted; but hints were given it would not paſs. The then biſhops of *Oſſory* and *Killalo* had, as I am told, a ſum of money for their labour in that affair, who, upon my arrival at *London* to negociate it, were one of them gone to *Bath*, and the other to *Ireland:* but it ſeemeth more reaſonable to give biſhops money for doing nothing, than a private clergyman thanks for ſucceeding where biſhops have failed. I am only ſorry I was not a biſhop, that I might at leaſt have got money. The tory clergy here ſeem ready for converſion, provoked by a parcel of obſcure zealots in

Lon: *n*,

London, who, as we hear, are ſetting up a new church of *England* by themſelves. By our intelligence it ſeemeth to be a complication of as much folly, madneſs, hypocriſy, and miſtake, as ever was offered to the world. If it be underſtood ſo on your ſide, I cannot but think there would be a great opportunity of reſtoring the body of the clergy to the intereſt of the court; who, if they were perſuaded by a few good words to throw off their fears, could never think of the pretender without horror, under whom it is obvious that thoſe refiners would have the greateſt credit, and conſequently every thing be null ſince the time of the revolution, and more havock made in a few months, than the moſt deſponding among the tories can juſtly apprehend from the preſent management in as many years. Theſe at leaſt are, as I am told, the thoughts and reaſonings of the high-church people among us: but whether a court, in the midſt of ſtrength and ſecurity, will conceive it worth their while to cultivate the diſpoſitions of people in the duſt, is out of my reach.

The

The biſhop of *Dromore* hath never been in town ſince he went to his dioceſe, nor doth he ſay any thing of coming up. He is in good health.

I was told a week or two ago a confuſed ſtory of the anatomy lecturer at the college turned out by the provoſt *, and another put in his place. I know not the particulars; but am aſſured he is blamed for it both by the prince and your grace. I take the provoſt to be a very honeſt gentleman, perfectly good-natured, and the leaſt inclined to ſpeak ill of others of almoſt any perſon I have known. He hath very good intentions; but the defect ſeemeth to be, that his views are ſhort, various, and ſudden; and I have reaſon to think, he hardly ever maketh uſe of any other counſellor than himſelf. I talked to him of this matter ſince it was done, and I think his anſwers ſatisfied me; but I am an ill retainer of facts wherein I have no concern. My humble opinion is, that it would be much to his own eaſe, and of theirs who diſlike him, if he were put into

* Rev. Dr. PRATT, afterwards dean of *Down*.

another

another ſtation; and if you will not afford him a biſhoprick, that you will let him ſucceed ſome rich country dean. I dare be confident that the provoſt had no other end in changing that lecturer than a deſign of improving anatomy as far as he could; for he would never have made ſuch a ſtep as chuſing the prince * chancellor, but from a reſolution of keeping as fair as he poſſibly could with the preſent powers, in regard both to his eaſe and his intereſt; and in hopes of changing a poſt, wherein, to ſay the truth, he hath been uſed by judges and governors like any dog, and hath ſuffered more by it in his health and honour than I, with his patrimonial eſtate, would think it were worth. Here hath been one *Whittingham*, in an ordination ſermon, calling the clergy a thouſand dumb dogs, and treating epiſcopacy as bad as *Boyſe* †; yet no notice at all ſhall be taken of this, unleſs to his advantage upon the next vacant

* GEORGE, prince of *Wales*, afterwards king GEORGE II.

† An eminent diſſenting teacher, miniſter of *Wood-ſtreet* meeting-houſe in *Dublin*, who wrote ſeveral tracts in favour of diſſenters.

biſhoprick,

biſhoprick, and wagers are laid already, whether he or one *Monk* will be the man. But I forgot myſelf, and therefore ſhall only add, that I am, with the greateſt reſpect and truth,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXVI.

My LORD, *Trim, Dec.* 22, 1716.

I HAVE been here ſome days to finiſh the purchaſe of a glebe for my country pariſh. I have prevailed on a gentleman to alienate twenty acres for 200*l.* to be had from the truſtees of the firſt fruits. He then ſets me twenty-three acres more for 999 years. Upon theſe laſt twenty acres, I am, by agreement, to lay out the ſaid 200*l.* in building, and to give the gentleman immediately 55*l.* out of my own pocket, and to pay him 14*l.*

14*l. per ann.* for ever, which is near the value of the whole forty acres; theſe laſt twenty acres, after I have built and improved, I deſign to leave my ſucceſſors *; who will then have forty acres of good glebe, with houſe, gardens, &c. for 14*l. per ann.* I reckon to lay out of my own money about 250*l.* and ſo to be an humble imitator of your grace, *longo intervallo.* This expedient was a project of Dr. *Raymond*, miniſter of this town, to deal with a *Jew* who would not leſſen his rent-roll to ſave all the churches in Chriſtendom; Dr. *Coghill*, and every body elſe, approves the thing, ſince it is a good bargain to the church, a better to the gentleman, and only a bad one to myſelf; and I hope your grace will have the ſame thoughts.

Since I came down here I received the honour of a large, and therefore an agreeable, letter from your grace of *November* 22. I have reaſon to think myſelf hardly dealt with by thoſe of the ſide in power, who will not think I deſerve any place in your good thoughts; when they cannot

* See the author's will, Vol. XII.

but

but know, that while I was near the late miniſtry I was a common advocate for thoſe they call the whigs, to a degree, that a certain great miniſter told me, I had always a whig in my ſleeve; neither did I ever fail to interpoſe in any caſe of merit or compaſſion, by which means ſeveral perſons in *England*, and ſome in this kingdom, kept their employments: For I cannot remember my lord *Oxford* ever refuſed me a requeſt of that kind. And for the reſt, your grace may very well remember, that I had the honour of correſponding with you during the whole period with ſome degree of confidence. Becauſe I know your grace had wiſhed the ſame things, but differed only in opinion about the hands that ſhould affect them: It was on account of this conduct, that certain warm creatures of this kingdom, then in *London*, and not unknown to your grace, had the aſſurance to give me broad hints that I was providing againſt a change; and I obſerve thoſe very men are now the moſt careful of all others to creep as far as they can out of harm's way.

The ſyſtem of new zealots, w[illegible]n your grace extracted, muſt be very ſuitable to my principles, who was always a whig in politicks. I have been told, that, upon the death of the laſt non-juring biſhop, *Dodwell* and his followers thought the ſchiſm at an end. My notion was, that theſe people begun to ſet up again upon deſpair of their cauſe, by the rebellion * being brought to an end, elſe their politicks are, if poſſible, worſe than their divinity. Upon the whole it is clear, that the game is entirely in the hands of the king and his miniſters, and I am extremely glad of your grace's opinion, that it will be played as it ought: Or, if we muſt ſuffer for a name, however, I had rather be devoured by a lion than a rat.

That maxim of the injuring perſon never forgiving the perſon injured, is, I believe, true in particular, but not of communities. I cannot but ſuppoſe that the clergy thought there were ſome hardſhips and grounds for fears, otherwiſe they muſt be very wicked, or very mad;

* The rebellion in *Scotland*, in the year 1715, in favour of the pretender.

to

to ſay more would be to enter into diſpute upon a party ſubject: A dog or a horſe knoweth when he is kindly treated: And beſides a wiſe adminiſtration will endeavour to remove the vain, as well as the real, fears of thoſe they govern.

I ſaw the provoſt yeſterday in this neighbourhood, and had ſome little talk with him upon the occaſion of the biſhop of *Killalo's* death; I believe he would accept of the deanry of *Derry*, if Dr. *Bolton* the dean ſhould be promoted; but I ſaid nothing of it to him; I believe he had wrote to Mr. *Molyneux* *. I find, ſince he cannot be truſted with a biſhoprick, that he deſires to leave his ſtation with as good a grace as he can; and that it may not be thought that what he ſhall get is only to get rid of him. I ſaid in general, that ſuch a circumſtance, as things ſtood, was hardly worth the quiet of a man's whole life, and ſo we parted, only

* SAMUEL MOLYNEAUX, Eſq; a gentleman of great abilities and large property in *Ireland*, ſecretary to the prince of *Wales*, chancellor of the univerſity of *Dublin*.

with telling him I intended to write to your grace in anſwer to a letter I had from you.

LETTER XXVII.

My LORD, *London, March*, 9, 1716-17.

I HAD yeſterday the honour of a letter from your grace, wherein you firſt mention Mr. *Duncan's* accident, who, as it falls out, is quite recovered, and they ſay is ſince better of his *Aſthma*: I believe whenever he dieth, I ſhall be in ſome difficulties, although I am wholely indifferent who may ſucceed him, provided he may be a deſerving perſon; unleſs I might ſay, that my inclinations are a little turned to oblige Mr. *Dopping* * on account of his brother, for whom I have always had a very great eſteem. It will be impoſſible for me to carry any point againſt that great majority of the chapter, who are ſure to oppoſe me whenever

* Dr. ANTHONY DOPPING, afterwards biſhop of *Oſſory*.

party

party interferes; and in thoſe caſes I ſhall be very ready to change my nomination, only chuſing thoſe I leaſt diſlike among ſuch as they will conſent to; wherein I hope I ſhall have your grace's approbation.

About a week ago I wrote to your grace in relation to the provoſt *. My lord biſhop of *Dromore*, Dr. *Coghill*, and I were yeſterday uſing our rhetoric to no purpoſe.—The topic he perpetually adheres to is, that the court offers him a deanry: Becauſe they look upon him as a man they cannot truſt, which, he ſays, affecteth his reputation. That he profeſſeth to be as true to the preſent king, as any perſon in employment: that he hath always ſhewn himſelf ſo: that he was ſacrificed by the tories in the late reign on account of the diſpute in the *College* and other matters: that he publicly argues and appears againſt the ſame party now upon all occaſions; and expecteth as little favour from them, if ever they

* Dr. PRATT.

ſhould come into power, as any man now in employment. As to any hints dropped to him of any danger or uneaſineſs from parliament or viſitation, he declareth himſelf perfectly ſafe and eaſy; and if it might not affect the ſociety, he ſhould be glad of ſuch enquiries, in order to vindicate himſelf: that he ſhould like the deanry of *Down* full as well, and perhaps better than the biſhoprick of *Dromore*, provided the deanry was given him in ſuch a manner, and with ſome mark of favour or approbation, that the world would not think he was driven into it as a man whom the king could not truſt; and if any ſuch method could be thought on, he would readily accept it. That he is very ſenſible he ſhould be much happier in the other ſtation, and much richer, and, which weighs with him more, that it would be much for the preſent intereſt of the *College* to be under another head: But that the ſenſe of his own loſs of credit prevails with him above all conſiderations; and that he hopeth in ſome time to convince the world, and the

the court too, that he hath been altogether miſrepreſented.

This is the ſum of his reaſoning, by all I could gather after ſeveral converſations with him both alone and with ſome of his beſt friends, who all differ from him, as he allows moſt of his acquaintance do. I am no judge of what conſequence his removal may be to the ſervice of the *College*, or of any favours to be ſhewn it. But I believe it would be no difficult matter to find a temper in this affair: for inſtance, (I ſpeak purely my own thoughts;) if the prince would graciouſly pleaſe to ſend a favourable meſſage by his ſecretary to offer him the deanry, in ſuch a manner as might anſwer the *Provoſt's* difficulty, I cannot but think your grace might bring ſuch a thing about: but that I humbly leave to your grace.

My lord biſhop of *Dromore* received letters yeſterday from your grace, and the biſhop of *Derry*, with an account of his ſucceeding to *Clogher*, of which I am ſure all parties will be exceeding glad.

I wiſh your grace a good journey to the *Bath*, and a firm eſtabliſhment of your health there.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

Not knowing but your grace might be gone to the *Bath*, I have mentioned ſomething of the *Provoſt's* affairs in a letter this poſt to my lord biſhop of *Derry*.

LETTER XXVIII.

My LORD, *Dublin, March* 22, 1717.

YOUR grace's letter was a long time before it reached me; for I was ſeveral weeks in the country diſpatching the affair of the glebe, which, however, is not yet quite finiſhed. Your grace doth rightly conceive the nature of my

my purchaſe, and that I am likely to be 200*l.* poorer for it, only I ſhall endeavour to loſe by degrees, which is all I have for it. I ſhall endeavour, as much as I can, to prevent the evil you foreſee of my ſucceſſors neglecting my improvements, and letting them all go to ruin. I ſhall take the beſt advice I can, and leave them to be fools as well as knaves if they do ſo; for I ſhall make ſo many plantations and hedges, that the land will let for double the value; and after all I muſt leave ſomething to fortune.

As to what your grace mentions of a practice in the late reign, of engaging people to come into the queen's meaſures, I have a great deal to ſay on that ſubject, not worth troubling you with at preſent, further than that I am confident thoſe who pretend to ſay moſt of it, are conſcious their accuſation is wrong: But I never love myſelf ſo little as when I differ from your grace; nor do I believe I ever ſhall do it, but where I am maſter of the fact, and your grace hath it only by report.

I have

I have been ſpeaking much to the provoſt about the deanry of *Derry*, or whatever other employment under a biſhoprick may be deſigned him upon theſe promotions. I find Dr. *Cogbill*.* hath been upon the ſame ſubject with him, but he is abſolutely poſitive to take nothing leſs at preſent; and his argument is, that whatever ſhall be given him now, beneath the ſtation his predeceſſors were called to, will be a mark of his lying under the diſpleaſure of the court, and that he is not to be truſted; whereas he looketh upon himſelf to have acted with principles as loyal to the preſent government, as any the king employs. He doth not ſeem to diſlike either the deanries of *Derry* or *Down*, but is perſuaded it will reflect upon his reputation; and, unleſs it could be contrived that he might have ſome mark of favour and approbation along with ſuch a preferment, I believe your grace may be aſſured he will not ac-

* MARMADUKE COGHILL, L L. D. judge of the prerogative court, afterwards a privy counſellor, chancellor of the exchequer, and a commiſſioner of the revenue.

cept

cept it. I only repeat what he ſays to me, and what I believe he will adhere to.

For my own part, who am not ſo refined, I gave my opinion that he ſhould take what was given him; but his other friends differ from me, and for aught I know, they may be in the right; and if the court thinketh it of conſequence, that the preſent provoſt ſhould be removed, I am not ſure but a way may be found out of ſaving his credit, which is all he ſeemeth to require; although I am confident, that if he were a biſhop, the government might be very ſecure of him, ſince he ſeemeth wholely fallen out with the *tories*, and the *tories* with him; and I do not know any man, who, in common converſation, talketh with more zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, and againſt all oppoſers of it than he. The only thing he deſireth at preſent in his diſcourſing with me is, that no propoſal of a deanry ſhould be at all made to him, but that he may go on as he is until further judgment ſhall be made of him by his future conduct.

I thought it proper to ſay thus much to your grace, becauſe I did not know whether

whether you and he perfectly underſtood each other.

I hear your grace intends this ſpring for the *Bath*. I ſhall pray for the good of the church, that you may then eſtabliſh your health.

I am, with greateſt reſpect,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

Among other things the provoſt argued, that Dr. *Foſter* was promoted to a biſhoprick from being a fellow; and therefore he muſt conclude, that offering him a leſs preferment, is a mark of diſpleaſure, with which circumſtance he is determined not to leave his preſent ſtation.

LETTER XXIX.

My Lord, *Magherlyn, May* 1, 1717.

YOUR grace's letter of *March* 23d was brought to me at *Trim*, where I went a month ago to finiſh my leaſe, and

purchaſe for my country pariſh. In ſome days after, I met my lord biſhop of *Clogher* at *Drogheda* by appointment; we went together to *Clogher*, where he was enthroned, and after three days came to this place, where his lordſhip is ſettling every thing againſt the coming of the new biſhop, who is expected here next week. My great buſineſs at *Clogher* was to ſeduce his lordſhip to lay out 2000*l.* in a new houſe, and for that end we rode about to find a ſituation. I know not whether I ſhall prevail, for he hath a hankering after making additions to the old one, which I will never conſent to, and had rather he would leave all to the generoſity of a ſucceſſor. My notion is, that when a biſhop with good diſpoſitions happens to ariſe, it ſhould be every man's buſineſs to cultivate them. It is no ill age that produceth two ſuch; and, therefore, if I had credit with your grace, and his lordſhip, it ſhould be all employed in puſhing you both upon works of public good, without the leaſt mercy to your pains or your purſes. An expert tradeſman makes a few of his beſt cuſtomers

cuſtomers anſwer not only for thoſe whom he gets little or nothing by, but for all who die in his debt.

I will ſuppoſe your grace hath heard of Mr. *Duncan's* death. I am ſure I have heard enough of it by a great encreaſe of diſintereſted correſpondents ever ſince. It is well I am at free coſt for board and lodging, elſe poſtage would have undone me. I have returned no anſwer to any, and ſhall be glad to proceed with your grace's approbation, which is leſs a compliment, becauſe I believe my chapter are of opinion I can hardly proceed without it. I deſire only two things; firſt, that thoſe who call themſelves my friends may have no reaſon to reproach me; and the ſecond, that in the courſe of this matter I may have ſomething to diſpoſe of to ſome one I wiſh well to.

Some weeks before Mr. *Duncan's* death, his brother-in-law Mr. *Lawſon*, miniſter of *Galtrim*, went for *England* by Mr. *Duncan's* conſent to apply for an adjoining living, called *Kilmore*, in *Duncan's* poſſeſſion, and now in the crown by

by his death. I know not his ſucceſs, but heartily wiſh, if it be intended for him, that the matter might take another turn. That Mr. *Warren*, who is landlord of *Galtrim*, might have that living, and *Kilmore* adjoining, both not 150*l.* and Mr. *Lawſon* to go down to Mr. *Warren's* living, in *Clogher* dioceſe, worth above 200*l.* But this is all at random, becauſe I know not whether *Kilmore* may not be already diſpoſed of, for I heard it is in your grace's turn.

I heard lately from the provoſt, who talked of being in the *North* in a month; but our *Dublin* account is, that they know not when the deanry is to be given him. I do not find any great joy in either party, on account of the perſon * who, it is ſuppoſed, will ſucceed him. The wrong cuſtom of making that poſt the next ſtep to a biſhoprick, hath been, as your grace ſays, of ill conſequence; and although, as you add, it gives them no rank, yet they think fit to take it, and make no ſcruple of preceding, on all oc-

* Rev. Dr. RICHARD BALDWIN, who died in September, 1759.

caſions,

caſions, the beſt private clergyman in the kingdom, which is a trifle of great conſequence when a man's head is poſſeſſed with it.

I pray God preſerve your grace for the good of the church and the learned world; and for the happineſs of thoſe whom you are pleaſed to honour with your friendſhip, favour, or protection. I beg your grace's bleſſing, and remain, with the greateſt truth and reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXX.

Gallſtown near Kinnegad, Sept. 28, 1721.

My Lord,

I HAD the honour of your grace's letter the firſt inſtant; and although I thought it my duty to be the laſt writer in correſponding with your grace, yet I know you are ſo punctual, that if I ſhould write

write ſooner, it would only be the occaſion of giving you a new trouble before it ought, in conſcience, to be put upon you. Beſides, I was in ſome pain that your letter of *Sept.* 1, was not the firſt you had writ, becauſe about ten days after a friend ſent me word that your grace ſaid you had writ to me ſix weeks before, and had no anſwer; whereas I can aſſure your grace that I received but one from you, nor had I reaſon to expect it, having not done myſelf the honour to write to you before. I will tell you the ſecret of dating my letter: I was in fear leſt the poſt ſhould be gone, and ſo left a blank, and wiſely huddled it up without thinking of the date; but we country gentlemen are frequently guilty of greater blunders; and in that article I grow more perfect every day.

I believe you ſeriouſly, that you will take care of your health to prevent a ſucceſſor; that is to ſay, I believe you tell truth in jeſt; for I know it is not the value of life that makes you deſire to live, and am afraid the world is much of your mind; for it is out of regard to the pub-

lick or ſome of themſelves more than upon your own account, that they wiſh your continuance among us.

It ſeems you are a greater favourite of the lieutenant's * than you care to own, for we hear that he killed but two bucks, and ſent you a preſent of one.

I hear you are like to be the ſole oppoſer of the bank †, and you will certainly miſcarry, becauſe it would prove a moſt perfidious thing. Bankrupts are always for ſetting up banks: How then can you think a bank will fail of a majority in both houſes?

You are very perverſe, my lord, in miſinterpreting the ladies favour, as if you muſt die to obtain it. I aſſure you it is directly contrary, and if you die, you will loſe their favour for ever: I am commanded to tell you ſo; and, therefore, at the peril of your life, and of their good graces, look to your health.

I hear the biſhop of *Bangor* ‡, deſpairing of doing any good with you, hath

* CHARLES duke of *Grafton*.

† At this time there was a ſcheme for a national bank, which was rejected by parliament.

‡ Dr. BENJAMIN HOADLY.

taken up with *Hereford*. I am a plain man, and would be glad at any time to ſee fifty ſuch biſhops hanged, if I could thereby have ſaved the life of his predeceſſor, for whom I had a great eſteem and friendſhip. I do not much approve the compliments made you by compariſons drawn from good and bad emperors, becauſe the intereſt falls ſhort on both ſides. If *Julian* had immediately ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, it would have been more to the purpoſe. Sir *James* of the *Peak*, ſaid to *Bouchier*, the gameſter, "Sirrah, I ſhall look better than you, "when I have been a month in my "grave." A great man in *England* was blaming me for deſpiſing ſomebody or other: I aſſured him I did not at all deſpiſe the man he mentioned, that I was not ſo liberal of my contempt, nor would beſtow it where there was not ſome degree of merit. Upon this principle, I can ſee no proper ground of oppoſition between your grace and that wretch of *Bangor*. I have read indeed, that a dog was once made king of *Norway*, but I forget who was his predeceſſor; and

therefore am at a loſs for the other part of the compariſon.

I am afraid the clatter of ladies tongues is no very good cure for a giddineſs in the head. When your grace (as you ſay) was young, as I am not, the ladies were better company, or you more eaſily pleaſed. I am perpetually reproaching them for their ignorance, affectation, impertinence (but my paper will not hold all *) except lady *Betty Rochfort*, your old acquaintance.

I own my head and your grace's feet would be ill joined; but give me your head and take my feet, and match us in the kingdom if you can.

My lord, I row after health like a waterman, and ride after it like a poſtboy, and find ſome little ſucceſs; but *ſubeunt morbi, triſtiſque ſenectus.* I have a receipt to which you are a ſtranger; my lord *Oxford* and Mr. *Prior* uſed to join with me in taking it; to whom I often ſaid, when we were two hours diverting ourſelves with trifles, *vive la*

* —— Quæ plurima menti
Fœmineæ natura dedit.

bagatelle.

bagatelle. I am ſo deep among the workmen at Mr. *Rochfort's* canals and lakes, ſo dextrous at the oar, ſuch an alderman after the hare——

I am juſt now told from ſome news papers, that one of the king's enemy's, and my excellent friend Mr. *Prior*, is dead; I pray God deliver me from any ſuch trials. I am neither old nor philoſopher enough to be indifferent at ſo great a loſs; and, therefore, I abruptly conclude, but with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And obedient ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXXI.

My LORD,

MR. *Chetwood** intends to deliver in a petition to the government to day, and entreated me to ſpeak to your

* KNIGHTLY CHETWOOD, Eſq; who had very good pretenſions to an *Engliſh* peerage; for which he preſented ſeveral memorials, but to no purpoſe.

grace before he delivered it, which not having an opportunity to do, I make bold to incloſe this letter, which your grace may pleaſe to read; and is the ſubſtance of what he deſired me to ſay.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

Deanry-houſe,
Feb. 22, 1722-3.

JON. SWIFT.

LETTER XXXII.

My Lord,

YOUR grace will have received, before this comes to your hands, an account of the primate's death *, who died yeſterday at twelve o'clock at noon. He had left off ſpitting for about ten days before, and the want of that is thought to have been the immediate cauſe of his death, although he eat heartily until the

* Dr. Lindsay, who was ſucceeded by Dr. Hugh Boulter, biſhop of *Briſtol.*

two

two laſt days. He hath left the biſhop of *Kildare* *, and his ſteward Mr. *Morgan*, his executors, who were both out of town; but I ſuppoſe are ſent for. Some who formerly belonged to him think he has left 40,000*l.* others report he died poor.

The vogue is, that your grace will ſucceed him, if you pleaſe; but I am too great a ſtranger to your preſent ſituation at court to know what to judge. But if there were virtue enough, I could wiſh your grace would accept the offer, if it ſhould be made you. Becauſe I would have your name left to poſterity among the primates; and becauſe entering into a new ſtation, is entering after a ſort on a new leaſe of life; and becauſe it might be hoped, that your grace would be adviſed with about a ſucceſſor; and becauſe that dioceſe would require your grace's ability and ſpirit to reform it; and becauſe — but I ſhould never be at an end, if I were to number up the reaſons why I would have your grace in the higheſt ſtations the crown can give you.

* Dr. Ellis.

I found all the papers in the cabinet relating to Dr. *Stephen's* hoſpital, and, therefore, I brought them home to the deanry. I opened the cabinet in the preſence of Mr. *Bouhereau* *, and ſaw one paper, which proved a bank note for 500 *l.* The greatneſs of the ſum ſtartled me, but I found it belonged to the ſame hoſpital. I was in pain, becauſe workmen were in the room and about the houſe. I therefore went this morning to *St. Sepulcher's*, and in the preſence of Mrs. *Green* †, I took away the note, and have ſecured it in my cabinet, leaving her my receipt for it, and am very proud to find that a ſcrip under my hand will paſs for 500 *l.* I wiſh your grace a good journey to the eſtabliſhment of your health, and am, with the greateſt reſpect,

My LORD.

Your Grace's moſt dutiful,

And moſt humble ſervant,

Dublin,
July 14, 1724. JON. SWIFT.

* A *French* clergyman.

† The archbiſhop's houſe-keeper.

To

To the READER.

IN or about the year 1731, *Mr.* Wogan, *a gentleman of an antient and good family in* Ireland, *ſent a preſent of a caſk of* Spaniſh Caſſala *wine to the dean, alſo a crimſon velvet bag, with gold and ſilk ſtrings, in which were incloſed a paraphraſe on the ſeven penitential Pſalms of* David, *and ſeveral original pieces in verſe and proſe, dedicated to the Rev. Dr.* Swift, *D. S. P. D. whom he never ſaw. This Mr.* Wogan *was a gentleman of great bravery and courage, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral battles and ſieges. He was appointed, by the Chevalier de St.* George, *in the year* 1718, *to take the princeſs* Sobieſki *(grand-daughter of the famous* James Sobieſki, *king of* Poland, *who raiſed the ſiege of* Vienna) *to whom he was married by proxy in* Poland, *who, in her journey to* Rome, *was, by order of the imperial court, made a priſoner in* Tyroll, *and cloſely confined in the caſtle of* Inſpruck *for ſome time, when Mr.* Wogan *undertook to ſet her at liberty, and bring her ſafe to* Rome, *which he*

he effectually performed, by bringing her through all the guards; for which dangerous and gallant ſervice, he was made a Roman *knight, which was an honour that was not conferred on a foreigner for many centuries before. This gentleman ſoon after went into the ſervice of* Spain, *where he got a government and other military commands, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many engagements, being well known all over* Europe *by the name of* Chevalier, *or Sir* Charles Wogan.

The

The ANSWER *of the Reverend Doctor* JONATHAN SWIFT, *Dean of* St. Patrick's, Dublin, *to the author Sir* CHARLES WOGAN, *an officer of diſtinction in the ſervice of the king of* Spain.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your packet at leaſt two months ago, and took all this time not only to conſider it maturely myſelf, but to ſhew it to the few judicious friends I have in this kingdom. We all agreed that the writer was a ſcholar, a man of genius, and of honour. We gueſſed him to have been born in this country from ſome paſſages, but not from the ſtyle, which we were ſurprized to find ſo correct in an exile, a ſoldier, and a native of *Ireland*. The hiſtory of yourſelf, although part of it be employed in your praiſe and importance, we did not diſlike, becauſe your intention was to be wholely unknown, which circumſtance exempts you from any charge of vanity. However, although I am utterly ignorant of preſent perſons and things, I have made a ſhift, by talking in general with ſome perſons,

to

to find out your name, your employments, and ſome of your actions, with the addition of ſuch a character, as would give full credit to more than you have ſaid (I mean of yourſelf) in the dedicatory epiſtle.

You will pardon a natural curioſity on this occaſion, eſpecially when I began with ſo little, that I did not ſo much as untie the ſtrings of the bag for five days after I received it, concluding it muſt come from ſome *Iriſh* friar in *Spain*, filled with monaſtic ſpeculations, of which I have ſeen ſome in my life, little expecting a hiſtory, a dedication, a poetical tranſlation of the penitential Pſalms, Latin poems, and the like, and all from a ſoldier. In theſe kingdoms you would be a moſt unfaſhionable military man, among troops where the leaſt pretenſion to learning or piety, or common morals, would endanger the owner to be caſhiered. Although I have no great regard for your trade, from the judgment I make of thoſe who profeſs it in theſe kingdoms, yet I cannot but highly eſteem thoſe gentlemen of *Ireland*, who, with all the diſ-

advantages

advantages of being exiles and ſtrangers, have been able to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their valour and conduct in ſo many parts of *Europe*, I think, above all other nations; which ought to make the *Engliſh* aſhamed of the reproaches they caſt on the ignorance, the dulneſs, and the want of courage in the *Iriſh* natives; thoſe defects, wherever they happen, ariſing only from the poverty and ſlavery they ſuffer from their inhuman neighbours, and the baſe corrupt ſpirits of too many of the chief gentry, *&c.* By ſuch events as theſe, the very *Grecians* are grown ſlaviſh, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious. I do aſſert that from ſeveral experiments I have made in travelling over both kingdoms, I have found the poor cottagers here, who could ſpeak our language, to have a much better natural taſte for good ſenſe, humour, and raillery, than ever I obſerved among people of the like ſort in *England*. But the millions of oppreſſions they lie under, the tyranny of their landlords, the ridiculous zeal of their prieſts, and the general miſery of the whole nation, have been enough to damp the

the beſt ſpirits under the ſun. I return to your pacquet.

Two or three poetical friends of mine have read your poems with very good approbation, yet we all agree ſome corrections may be wanting, and at the ſame time we are at a loſs how to venture on ſuch a work. One gentleman of your own country, name, and family, who could do it beſt, is a little too lazy; but however ſomething ſhall be done and ſubmitted to you. I have been only a man of rhimes, and that upon trifles, never having written ſerious couplets in my life; yet never any without a moral view. However, as an admirer of *Milton*, I will read yours as a critic, and make objections, where I find any thing that ſhould be changed. Your directions about publiſhing the epiſtle and the poetry, will be a point of ſome difficulty. They cannot be printed here with the leaſt profit to the author's friend in diſtreſs. *Dublin* bookſellers have not the leaſt notion of paying for a copy. Sometimes things are printed here by ſubſcription; but they go on ſo heavily, that few or none

none make it turn to account. In *London* it is otherwiſe, but even there the authors muſt be in vogue, or, if not known, be diſcovered by the ſtyle, or the work muſt be ſomething that hits the taſte of the publick, or what is recommended by the preſiding men of genius.

When *Milton* firſt publiſhed his famous poem, the firſt edition was very long going off; few either read, liked, or underſtood it; and it gained ground merely by its merit. Nothing but an uncertain ſtate of my health (cauſed by a diſpoſition to giddineſs, which, although leſs violent, is more conſtant) could have prevented my paſſing this ſummer into *England* to ſee my friends, who hourly have expected me: In that caſe I could have managed this affair myſelf, and would have readily conſented that my name ſhould have ſtood at length before your epiſtle; and by the caprice of the world, that circumſtance might have been of uſe to make the thing known; and conſequently better anſwer the charitable part of your deſign, by inciting people's curioſity. And in ſuch a caſe I would have writ a ſhort acknowledgment

ledgment of your letter, and publiſhed it in the next page after your epiſtle; but giving you no name, nor confeſſing my conjecture of it. This ſcheme I am ſtill upon, as ſoon as my health permits me to return to *England* *.

As I am conjectured to have generally dealt in raillery and ſatyr, both in proſe and verſe, if that conjecture be right, although ſuch an opinion hath been an abſolute bar to my riſing in the world; yet that very world muſt ſuppoſe that I followed what I thought to be my talent, and charitable people will ſuppoſe I had a deſign to laugh the follies of mankind out of countenance; and as often to laſh the vices out of practice. And then it will be natural to conclude, that I have ſome partiality for ſuch kind of writing and favour it in others. I think you acknowledge, that in ſome time of your life you turned to the rallying part; but I find at preſent your genius runs wholely into the grave and ſublime, and therefore I find you leſs indulgent to my way by

* The laſt time the dean was in *England* was in the year 1727.

your

your diſlike of the *Beggar's Opera*, in the perſons, particularly of *Polly Peachum* and *Macheath*; whereas we think it a very ſevere ſatyr upon the moſt pernicious villainies of mankind. And ſo you are in danger of quarreling with the ſentiments of Mr. *Pope*, Mr. *Gay* the author, Dr. *Arbuthnot*, myſelf, Dr. *Young*, and all the brethren whom we own. Doctor *Young* is the graveſt among us, and yet his ſatyrs have many mixtures of ſharp raillery. At the ſame time you judge very truly, that the taſte of *England* is infamouſly corrupted by ſholes of wretches who write for their bread; and therefore I had reaſon to put Mr. *Pope* on writing the poem, called the DUNCIAD; and to hale thoſe ſcoundrels out of their obſcurity, by telling their names at length, their works, their adventures, ſometimes their lodgings, and their lineage; not with *A's* and *B's* according to the old way, which would be unknown in a few years.

As to your blank-verſe it hath too often fallen into the ſame vile hands of

late. One *Thompſon*, a *Scotſman*, hath ſucceeded the beſt in that way, in four poems he hath written on the four ſeaſons: yet I am not over-fond of them, becauſe they are all deſcription, and nothing is doing; whereas *Milton* engageth me in actions of the higheſt importance,

Modo me Romæ, modo ponit Athenis:

and yours on the ſeven pſalms, &c. have ſome advantage that way.

You ſee *Pope*, *Gay*, and I, uſe all our endeavours to make folks merry and wiſe, and profeſs to have no enemies, except knaves and fools. I confeſs myſelf to be exempted from them in one article, which was engaging with a miniſtry to prevent, if poſſible, the evils that have over-run the nation; and my fooliſh zeal in endeavouring to ſave this wretched iſland. Wherein, though I ſucceeded abſolutely in one important article *; yet even there I loſt all hope of favour from thoſe in power here, and diſobliged the court of

* Againſt *Wood's* copper half-pence. See the *Drapier's* letters.

England,

England, and have in twenty years drawn above one thouſand ſcurrilous libels on myſelf, without any other recompence than the love of the *Iriſh* vulgar, and two or three dozen ſign-poſts of the *drapier* in this city, beſides thoſe that are ſcattered in country towns, and even theſe are half worn out. So that whatever little genius God hath given me, I may juſtly pretend to have been the worſt manager of it to my own advantage of any man upon earth.

Auguſt 2.] What I have above written hath long lain by me, that I might conſider further: but I have been partly out of order, and partly plagued with a law-ſuit of ten years ſtanding, and I doubt very ill cloſed up, although it concerns two thirds of my little fortune. Think whether ſuch periods of life are proper to encourage poetical or philoſophical ſpeculations.

I ſhall not therefore tire you any longer, but with great acknowledgement for the diſtinction you pleaſe to ſhew me, deſire to be always thought,

with great truth and a moſt particular eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

And obliged ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

We have ſometimes editions printed here of books from *England*, which I know not whether you are in a way of getting. I will name ſome below, and if you approve of any, I ſhall willingly increaſe your library; they are ſmall, conſequently more portable in your marches, and, which is more important, the preſent will be cheaper for me.

Dr. YOUNG's Satyrs	GAY's Fables
Mr. GAY's Works	Art of Politics, and
Mr. POPE's Works	ſome other Trifles
POPE's DUNCIAD	in Verſe, &c.

A TREA-

A

TREATISE

ON

GOOD-MANNERS,

AND

GOOD-BREEDING.

GOOD-MANNERS is the art of making thoſe people eaſy with whom we converſe.

Whoever makes the feweſt perſons uneaſy is the beſt bred in the company.

As the beſt law is founded upon reaſon, ſo are the beſt manners. And as ſome lawyers have introduced unreaſonable things into common law; ſo likewiſe many teachers have introduced abſurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is to ſuit our behaviour to the three ſeveral degrees of men; our ſuperiors, our equals, and thoſe below us.

For inſtance, to preſs either of the two former to eat or drink is a breach of manners; but a tradeſman or a farmer muſt be thus treated, or elſe it will be difficult to perſuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of ſenſe, are the three great ſources of ill-manners; without ſome one of theſe defects, no man will behave himſelf ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy any one to aſſign an incident wherein reaſon will not direct us what we are to ſay or do in company, if we are not miſled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore I inſiſt that good-ſenſe is the principal foundation of good-manners: But becauſe the former is a gift which very few among mankind are poſſeſſed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing ſome rules for common behaviour, beſt ſuited to their general cuſtoms, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good ſenſe to ſupply the defects of reaſon. Without which, the *gentlemenly* part of dunces would be perpetually

petually at cuffs, as they ſeldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in ſquabbles about women, or play. And God be thanked there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of thoſe three motives. Upon which account I ſhould be exceedingly ſorry to find the legiſlature make any new laws againſt the practice of duelling; becauſe the methods are eaſy, and many, for a wiſe man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can diſcover no political evil in ſuffering bullies, ſharpers, and rakes to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of thoſe who have weak underſtandings; ſo they have been corrupted by the perſons for whoſe uſe they were contrived. For theſe people have fallen into a needleſs and endleſs way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troubleſome to thoſe who practiſe them, and inſupportable to every body

elſe: Inſomuch, that wiſe men are often more uneaſy at the over civility of theſe refiners, than they could poſſibly be in the converſations of peaſants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better ſeen than at thoſe tables where ladies preſide; who value themſelves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man muſt reckon upon paſſing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to; unleſs he will be ſo hardy as to break through all the ſettled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth beſt, and how much he ſhall eat; and if the maſter of the houſe happeneth to be of the ſame diſpoſition, he proceedeth in the ſame tyrannical manner to preſcribe in the drinking part: At the ſame time you are under the neceſſity of anſwering a thouſand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the beſt faſhion, yet too much of it ſtill remaineth, eſpecially in the country; where, an honeſt gentleman

gentleman aſſured me, that having been kept four days againſt his will at a friend's houſe, with all the circumſtances of hiding his boots, locking up the ſtable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember, from the moment he came into the houſe to the moment he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, beſides all this, it would be endleſs to recount the many fooliſh and ridiculous accidents I have obſerved among theſe unfortunate proſelytes to ceremony. I have ſeen a dutcheſs fairly knocked down by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to ſave her the trouble of opening a door. I remember upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was utterly diſconſolate by a diſh of ſauce let fall by a page directly upon her headdreſs and brocade; while ſhe gave a ſudden turn to her elbow upon ſome point of ceremony with the perſon who ſat next to her. Monſieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, whoſe politics and manners were much

of

of a ſize, brought a ſon with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they firſt offered round in order, to every perſon in the company; ſo that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At laſt their two plates happened to encounter, and with ſo much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces; and ſtained half the company with ſweetmeats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and ſciences; and ſometimes in trade. Pedantry is properly the overrating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itſelf, the pedantry is the greater. For which reaſon I look upon fidlers, dancing-maſters, heralds, maſters of the ceremony, *&c.* to be greater pedants than *Lipſius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With theſe kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully ſtocked: I mean from the gentleman-uſher (at leaſt) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-

man-porter; who are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt inſignificant race of people that this iſland can afford, and with the ſmalleſt tincture of good-manners; which is the only trade they poſeſs. For being wholely illiterate, and converſing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole ſyſtem of breeding within the forms and circles of their ſeveral offices: And as they are below the notice of miniſters, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obſequiouſneſs to thoſe who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeneſs and inſolence to every body elſe. From whence I have long concluded, that good-manners are not a plant of the court growth: For if they were, thoſe people who have underſtandings directly of a level for ſuch acquirements, and who have ſerved ſuch long apprenticeſhips to nothing elſe, would certainly have picked them up. For as to the great officers who attend the prince's perſon or councils, or preſide in his family, they are a tranſient body, who have no better a title to good-manners, than

than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourſe to gentlemen-uſhers for inſtruction. So that I know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumſtance of dreſs; wherein the authority of the maids of honour muſt indeed be allowed to be almoſt equal to that of a favourite actreſs.

I remember a paſſage my lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the queen, the prince ſaid he was much concerned that he could not ſee her majeſty that night; for Monſieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had aſſured his highneſs that he could not be admitted into her preſence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My lord turned the matter to a jeſt, and brought the prince to her majeſty; for which he was highly cenſured by the whole tribe of gentlemen-uſhers; among whom Monſieur *Hoffman*, an old dull reſident of the emperor's,

emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the beſt leſſon he had learned in five and twenty years reſidence.

I make a difference between good-manners and good-breeding; although, in order to vary my expreſſion, I am ſometimes forced to confound them. By the firſt, I only underſtand the art of remembering, and applying certain ſettled forms of general behaviour. But good-breeding is of a much larger extent; for beſides an uncommon degree of literature ſufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compaſs of knowledge; no leſs than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of *Italy*, riding the great horſe, and ſpeaking *French*; not to mention ſome other ſecondary, or ſubaltern accompliſhments, which are more eaſily acquired. So that the difference between good-breeding and good-manners lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the beſt underſtandings without ſtudy and labour: Whereas a tolerable degree of reaſon will

inſtruct us in every part of good-manners without other aſſiſtance.

I can think of nothing more uſeful upon this ſubject, than to point out ſome particulars wherein the very eſſentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which doth very much diſturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of mutual uneaſineſs in moſt companies.

Firſt, a neceſſary part of good-manners is a punctual obſervance of time at our own dwellings, or thoſe of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, buſineſs, or diverſion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reaſon, yet the greateſt * miniſter I ever knew, was the greateſt treſpaſſer againſt it; by which all his buſineſs doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often uſed to rally him as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambaſſador, and ſecretary of ſtate, with a very moderate portion of intel-

* ROBERT HARLEY, earl of *Oxford*, lord high treaſurer to queen ANNE.

lectuals,

leſtuals, execute their offices with good ſucceſs and applauſe by the mere force of exactneſs and regularity. If you duly obſerve time for the ſervice of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifeſt folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned, to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own diſadvantage, is pride and injuſtice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be ſtyled ill-manners; becauſe forms are ſubject to frequent changes; and conſequently being not founded upon reaſon, are beneath a wiſe man's regard. Beſides, they vary in every country; and after a ſhort period of time very frequently in the ſame: ſo that a man, who travelleth, muſt needs be at firſt a ſtranger to them in every court through which he paſſeth; and, perhaps, at his return as much a ſtranger in his own; and, after all, they are eaſier to be remembered or forgotten, than faces, or names.

Indeed, among the many impertiencies that ſuperficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is

is one of the principal and more predominant than the reſt; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore zealous upon all occaſions to introduce and propagate the new forms and faſhions they have brought back with them: So that, uſually ſpeaking, the worſt bred perſon in the company is a young traveller juſt returned from abroad.

N. B. The GUARDIAN, N° 96. written by this author, we omit, being already in every one's hands.

A LET-

A LETTER *of Dr.* SWIFT, *to the Rev. Mr.* JOHN KENDALL, *Vicar of* Thornton, *to be left at Mr.* BIRKHEAD'S *over-againſt the Free-School in* L——r.

SIR, *Feb.* 11, 1691.

IF any thing made me wonder at your letter, it was your almoſt inviting me to do ſo in the beginning, which indeed grew leſs upon knowing the occaſion; ſince it is what I have heard from more than one in and about *L——r*. And for the friendſhip between us, as I ſuppoſe, your's to be real, ſo I think it would be proper to imagine mine until you find any cauſe to believe it pretended; though I might have ſome quarrel at you in three or four lines, which are very ill beſtowed in complimenting me. And as to that of my great proſpects of making my fortune, on which as your kindneſs only looks on the beſt ſide, ſo my own cold temper, and unconfined humour, is a much greater hindrance than any fear of that which is the ſubject of your letter. I ſhall ſpeak plainly to you, that the very ordinary ob-

ſervations I made with going half a mile beyond the univerſity, have taught me experience enough not think of marriage, till I ſettle my fortune in the world, which I am ſure will not be in ſome years; and even then itſelf, I am ſo hard to pleaſe, that I ſuppoſe I ſhall put it off to the other world.—How all that ſuits with my behaviour to the woman in hand, you may eaſily imagine, when you know that there is ſomething in me which muſt be employed, and when I am alone, turns all, for want of practice, into ſpeculation and thought; inſomuch that theſe ſeven weeks I have been here, I have writ and burnt, and writ again upon all manner of ſubjects, more than perhaps any man in *England*. And this is it which a perſon of great honour in *Ireland* (who was pleaſed to ſtoop ſo low as to look into my mind) uſed to tell me, that my mind was like a conjured ſpirit, that would do miſchief if I would not give it employment. It is this humour that makes me ſo buſy when I am in company, to turn all that way; and ſince it commonly ends in talk, whether it be love, or common converſation, it

it is all alike. This is ſo common, that I could remember twenty women in my life, to whom I have behaved myſelf juſt the ſame way, and, I profeſs, without any other deſign than that of entertaining myſelf when I am very idle, or when ſomething goes amiſs in my affairs. This I always have done as a man of the world, when I had no deſign for any thing grave in it, and what I thought at worſt a harmleſs impertinence; but, whenever I begin to to take ſober reſolutions, or, as now, to think of entring into the church, I never found it would be hard to put off this kind of folly at the porch. Beſides, perhaps in ſo general a converſation among that ſex, I might pretend a little to underſtand where I am when I am going to chooſe for a wife; and though the cunning ſharper of the town may have a cheat put on him, yet it muſt be cleanlier carried than this which you think I am going to *top* upon myſelf. And truly, if you knew how metaphyſical I am that way, you would little fear I ſhould venture on one who has given ſo much occaſion to tongues: For though the people is a lying

ſort of beaſt (and I think in *L——r* above all parts that I ever was in) yet they ſeldom talk without ſome glimpſe of a reaſon, which I declare (ſo unpardonably jealous I am) to be a ſufficient cauſe for me to hate any woman any farther than a bare acquaintance.—Among all the young gentlemen that I have known, who have ruined themſelves by marrying (which I aſſure you is a great number) I have made this general rule, that they are either young, raw, and ignorant ſcholars, who, for want of knowing company, believe every ſilk petticoat includes an angel; or elſe theſe have been a ſort of honeſt young men, who perhaps are too literal in rather marrying than burning, and entail a miſery on themſeves and poſterity, by an over acting modeſty. I think I am very far excluded from liſting under either of theſe heads. I confeſs I have known one or two men of ſenſe enough, who, inclined to frolics, have marrried and ruined themſelves out of a maggot; but a thouſand houſhold thoughts, which always drive matrimony out of my mind whenever it chances to come there, will, I am ſure, fright me

from that; beſides that, I am naturally temperate, and never engaged in the contrary, which uſually produces thoſe effects. Your hints at particular ſtories I do not underſtand; and having never heard them but ſo hinted, thought it proper to give you this, to ſhew you how I thank you for your regard of me; and I hope my carriage will be ſo as my friends need not be aſhamed of the name. I ſhould not have behaved myſelf after that manner I did in *L——r*, if I had not valued my own entertainment beyond the obloquy of a parcel of very wretched fools, which I ſolemnly pronounce the inhabitants of *L—r* to be; and ſo I content myſelf with retaliation. I hope you will forgive this trouble; and ſo, with my ſervice to your good wife,

I am, good couſin,

Your very friend and ſervant,

JON. SWIFT.

POEMS

ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS.

POEMS

ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS.

BALLYSPELLIN*.

By Dr. SHERIDAN.

ALL you that would refine your blood,
As pure as fam'd *Llewellyn*,
By waters clear, come ev'ry year,
To drink at *Ballyſpellin*.

Tho' pox or itch, your ſkins enrich
With rubies paſt the telling,
'Twill clear your ſkin before you've been
A month at *Ballyſpellin*.

If ladies cheek be green as leek
When ſhe comes from her dwelling,
The kindling roſe within it glows
When ſhe's at *Ballyſpellin*.

* A famous ſpaw in the county of *Kilkenny*.

The

The ſooty brown, who comes from town,
Grows here as fair as *Helen*;
Then back ſhe goes to kill the beaux
By dint of *Ballyſpellin*.

Our ladies are as freſh and fair
As *Roſs*, or bright *Dunkelling*:
And *Mars* might make a fair miſtake,
Were he at *Ballyſpellin*.

We men ſubmit as they think fit,
And here is no rebelling;
The reaſon's plain, the ladies reign,
They're queens at *Ballyſpellin*.

By matchleſs charms, unconquer'd arms,
They have the pow'r of quelling
Such deſperate foes as dare oppoſe
Their Power at *Ballyſpellin*.

Cold water turns to fire, and burns,
I know, becauſe I fell in
A ſtream which came from one bright dame
Who drank at *Ballyſpellin*.

Fine

Fine beaux advance, equipt for dance,
And bring their *Anne* or *Nell* in
With ſo much grace, I'm ſure no place
Can vie with *Ballyſpellin*.

No politicks, no ſubtle tricks,
No man his country ſelling,
We eat, we drink, we never think
Of theſe at *Ballyſpellin*.

The troubled mind, the puſt with wind,
Do all come here *Pell-Mell* in;
And, they are ſure, to work their cure
By drinking *Ballyſpellin*.

If dropſy fills you to the gills,
From chin to toe tho' ſwelling,
Pour in, pour out, you cannot doubt
A cure at *Ballyſpellin*.

Death throws no darts thro' all theſe parts,
No ſextons here are knelling;
Come, judge and try, you'll never *die*,
But *live* at *Ballyſpellin*:

Except

Except you feel darts tipt with ſteel,
Which here are ev'ry belle in;
When from their eyes ſweet ruin flies,
We die at *Ballyſpellin.*

Good chear, ſweet air, much joy, no care,
Your ſight, your taſte, your ſmelling,
Your ears, your touch, tranſporteth much
Each day at *Ballyſpellin.*

Within this ground we all ſleep ſound,
No noiſy dogs a yelling;
Except you wake, for *Cælia's* ſake,
All night at *Ballyſpellin.*

Here all you ſee, both he and ſhe,
No lady keeps her cell in;
But all partake the mirth we make
Who drink at *Ballyſpellin.*

My rhimes are gone, I think I've none,
Unleſs I ſhould bring hell in;
But ſince I'm here to heav'n ſo near,
I can't at *Ballyſpellin.*

The

The ANSWER.

By Dr. SWIFT.

DARE you diſpute, you ſawcy brute,
And think there's no rebelling
Your ſcurvy lays, and ſenſeleſs praiſe,
You give to *Ballyſpellin?*

Howe'er you bounce, I here pronounce,
Your med'cine is repelling;
Your water's mud, and ſcours the blood,
When drank at *Ballyſpellin.*

Thoſe pocky drabs, to cure their ſcabs,
You thither are compelling;
Will back be ſent, worſe than they went,
From naſty *Ballyſpellin.*

Llewellyn why? As well may I
Name honeſt doctor *Pellin*;
So hard ſometimes, you tug for rhimes
To bring in *Ballyſpellin.*

No

ſubject fit to try your wit,
When you went colonelling;
It dull intrigues 'twixt jades and teagues,
That met at *Ballyſpellin.*

Our laſſes fair, ſay what you dare,
Who ſowing make with ſhelling,
At *Market-Hill* more beaux can kill,
Than yours at *Ballyſpellin.*

Would I was whipt, when *Sheelah* ſtript,
To waſh herſelf our well in;
A bum ſo white, ne'er came in ſight,
At paultry *Ballyſpellin.*

Your mawkins there, ſmocks *hempen* wear
Of *Holland*, not an ell in;
No, not a rag, what e'er you brag,
Is found at *Ballyſpellin.*

But *Tom* will prate at any rate,
All other nymphs expelling:
Becauſe he gets a few *Griſets*,
At louſy *Ballyſpellin.*

There's

There's bonny *Jane* in yonder lane,
Juſt o'er againſt the *Bell Inn*;
Where can you meet a laſs ſo ſweet,
Round all your *Ballyſpellin*.

We have a girl deſerves an earl,
She came from *Enniſkillin*;
So fair, ſo young, no ſuch among
The belles at *Ballyſpellin*.

How would you ſtare, to ſee her there,
The foggy miſt diſpelling;
That cloud the brows, of every blowſe
Who lives at *Ballyſpellin*.

Now as I live, I would not give
A *Stiver* for a *Skellin*,
To towſe, and kiſs, the faireſt miſs
That leaks at *Ballyſpellin*.

Who e'er will raiſe ſuch lies as theſe,
Deſerves a good cudgelling:
Who falſly boaſts of belles and toaſts,
At dirty *Ballyſpellin*.

My

My rhimes are gone, to all but one,
Which is, our trees are felling.
As proper quite, as thoſe you write,
To force in *Ballyſpellin*.

A RIDDLE. *By Dr.* DELANY.

Inſcribed to the Lady CARTERET.

I REACH all things near me, and far off to boot,
Without ſtretching a finger, or ſtirring a foot;
I take them all in too, to add to your wonder,
Tho' many and various, and large and aſunder.
Without joſtling or crowding they paſs ſide by ſide,
Thro' a wonderful wicket, not half an inch wide,
Then I lodge them at eaſe in a very large ſtore,
Of no breadth, or length, with a thouſand things more.
All this I can do without witchcraft or charm,
Tho' ſometimes they ſay I bewitch, and do harm;
Tho' cold I inflame, and tho' quiet invade,
And nothing can ſhield from my ſpell but a ſhade.
A thief that has robb'd you, or done you diſgrace,
In magical mirrour I'll ſhew you his face:
Nay, if you'll believe what the poets have ſaid,
They'll tell you I kill, and can call back the dead.

Like

Like conjurers ſafe in my circle I dwell,
I love to look black too, it heightens my ſpell;
Tho' my magick is mighty in every Hue,
Who ſee all my power muſt ſee it in YOU.

The ſame anſwered by Dr. SWIFT.

WITH half an eye
Your *Riddle* I ſpy.
I obſerve your wicket
Hemm'd in by a thicket,
And whatever paſſes
Is ſtrained thro' glaſſes.
You ſay it is quiet,
I flatly deny it:
It wanders about,
Without ſtirring out:
No paſſion ſo weak
But gives it a tweak;
Love, joy, and devotion
Set it always in motion.
And as for the tragick
Effects of its magick,
Which you ſay it can kill,
Or revive at its will,
The dead are all ſound
And revive above ground,

After all you have writ,
It cannot be wit.
Which plainly does follow,
Since it flies from *Apollo*.
Its cowardice ſuch,
It cries at a touch,
'Tis a perfect Milkſop,
Grows drunk with a drop.
Another great fault,
It cannot bear ſalt;
And a hair can diſarm
It of every charm.

A RIDDLE. *By Dr.* SWIFT *to my Lady* CARTERET.

FROM *India's* burning clime I'm brought,
With cooling gales like zephyrs fraught.
Not *Iris* when ſhe paints the ſky,
Can ſhew more different hue than I;
Not can ſhe change her form ſo faſt,
I'm now a ſail, and now a maſt.
I here am red, and there am green,
A beggar there, and here a queen.
I ſometimes live in houſe of hair,
And oft in hand of lady fair.

I pleaſe

I pleaſe the young, I grace the old,
And am at once both hot and cold.
Say what I am then, if you can,
And find the rhime, and you're the man.

Anſwered by Dr. SHERIDAN.

YOUR houſe of hair and lady's hand,
At firſt did put me to a ſtand.
I have it now,——'tis plain enough,
Your hairy buſineſs is a *Muff*.
Your engine fraught with cooling gales,
At once ſo like your maſt and ſails.
And for the rhime to *you're the man*,
What fits it better than a *fann*?

The LOGICIANS *refuted.*

LOGICIANS have but ill defin'd
As rational, the human kind;
Reaſon, they ſay, belongs to man,
But let them prove it, if they can.
Wiſe *Ariſtotle* and *Smigleſius*,
By ratiocinations ſpecious,
Have ſtrove to prove with great preciſion,
With definition and diviſion,

Homo eſt ratione præditum;
But, for my ſoul, I cannot credit'em.
And, muſt in ſpite of them, maintain,
That man and all his ways are vain;
And that this boaſted lord of nature
Is both a weak and erring creature.
That inſtinct is a ſurer guide
Than reaſon-boaſting mortals pride;
And, that brute beaſts are far before 'em,
Deus eſt anima brutorum.
Who ever knew an honeſt brute,
At law his neighbour proſecute;
Bring action for aſſault and battery,
Or friend beguile with lies and flattery?
O'er plains they ramble unconfin'd,
No politics diſturb their mind;
They eat their meals, and take their ſport,
Nor know who's in or out at court.
They never to the levee go
To treat as deareſt friend, a foe:
They never importune his grace,
Nor ever cringe to men in place;
Nor undertake a dirty job,
Nor draw the quill to write for *Bob.*
Fraught with invective they ne'er go
To folks at *Pater-Noſter Row:*

No

No judges, fidlers, dancing maſters,
No pick-pockets, or poetaſters,
Are known to honeſt quadrupeds:
No ſingle brute his fellows leads.
Brutes never meet in bloody fray,
Nor cut each others throats for pay.
Of beaſts, it is confeſs'd, the ape
Comes neareſt us in human ſhape,
Like man he imitates each faſhion,
And malice is his ruling paſſion:
But, both in malice and grimaces,
A courtier any ape ſurpaſſes.
Behold him humbly cringing wait
Upon the miniſter of ſtate;
View him ſoon after to inferiors
Aping the conduct of ſuperiors:
He promiſes with equal air,
And to perform takes equal care.
He in his turn finds imitators,
At court the porters, lacqueys, waiters,
Their maſters manners' ſtill contract,
And footmen, lords and dukes can act.
Thus, at the court, both great and ſmall
Behave alike, for all ape all.

ODE ON SCIENCE.

OH heav'nly born! in deepeſt cells
If faireſt Science ever dwells
Beneath the moſſy cave;
Indulge the verdure of the woods:
With azure beauty gild the floods,
And flow'ry carpets lave;
For Melancholy ever reigns
Delighted in the ſylvan ſcenes
With ſcientific light;
While *Dian* huntreſs of the vales
Seeks lulling ſounds and fanning gales,
Tho' rapt from mortal ſight.
Yet, goddeſs, yet, the way explore
With magic rites and heathen lore
Obſtructed and depreſs'd:
'Till wiſdom give the ſacred nine,
Untaught, not uninſpired, to ſhine,
By reaſon's power redreſs'd.
When *Solon* and *Lycurgus* taught,
To moralize the human thought
Of mad opinion's maze,
To erring zeal they gave new laws.
Thy charms, O Liberty, the cauſe
That blends congenial rays.

Bid

Bid bright *Aſtræa* gild the morn,
Or bid a hundred ſuns be born,
To hecatomb the year;
Without thy aid in vain the poles:
In vain the Zodiac ſyſtem rolls:
In vain the lunar ſphere.
Come, faireſt princeſs of the throng,
Bring ſweet philoſophy along
In metaphyſic dreams;
While raptur'd bards no more behold
A vernal age of purer gold
In Heliconian ſtreams;
Drive thraldom with malignant hand,
To curſe ſome other deſtin'd land
By folly led aſtray:
Ierne bear on azure wing;
Energic let her ſoar, and ſing
Thy univerſal ſway.
So when *Amphion* bade the lyre
To more majeſtic ſound aſpire,
Behold the madding throng,
In wonder and oblivion drown'd,
To ſculpture turn'd by magic ſound,
And petrifying ſong.

The PUPPET-SHOW.

THE life of man to repreſent,
And turn it all to ridicule,
Wit did a *puppet-ſhow* invent,
Where the chief actor is a fool.

The gods of old were logs of wood,
And worſhip was to *puppets* paid,
In antic dreſs the idol ſtood,
And prieſts and people bow'd the head.

No wonder then, if art began,
The ſimple votaries to frame,
To ſhape in *timber* fooliſh man,
And conſecrate the *block* to fame.

From hence poetic fancy learn'd
That trees might riſe from human forms,
The body to a trunk be turn'd,
And branches iſſue from the arms.

Thus *Dædalus* and *Ovid* too,
That man's a blockhead have confeſt,
Powel and *Stretch* * the hint purſue,
Life is a farce, the world a jeſt.

* Two puppet-ſhow men.

The

The ſame great truth *South-Sea** hath prov'd
On that fam'd theatre, the *ally*,
Where thouſands by directors mov'd
Are now ſad monuments of folly.

What *Momus* was of old to *Jove*,
The ſame a *Harlequin* is now;
The former was *Buffoon* above
The latter is a *Punch* below.

This fleeting ſcene is but a ſtage,
Where various images appear,
In different parts of youth and age
Alike the prince and peaſant ſhare.

Some draw our eyes by being great,
Falſe pomp conceals mere wood within,
And legiſlators rang'd in ſtate
Are oft but wiſdom in machine.

A ſtock may chance to wear a crown,
And timber as a lord take place,
A ſtatue may put on a frown,
And cheat us with a thinking face.

* See the poem on the *South-Sea* project, vol. VI.

Others

Others are blindly led away,
And made to act for ends unknown,
By the mere ſpring of wires they play,
And ſpeak in language not their own.

Too oft, alas! a ſcolding wife
Uſurps a jolly fellow's throne,
And many drink the cup of life,
Mix'd and embitter'd by a *Joan*.

In ſhort, whatever men purſue
Of pleaſure, folly, war, or love;
This mimic-race brings all to view,
Alike they dreſs, they talk, they move.

Go on, great *Stretch*, with artful hand,
Mortals to pleaſe and to deride,
And when death breaks thy vital band,
Thou ſhalt put on a *puppet's* pride.

Thou ſhalt in puny wood be ſhewn,
Thy image ſhall preſerve thy fame;
Ages to come thy worth ſhall own,
Point at thy limbs, and tell thy name.

Tell *Tom* he draws a *Farce* in vain,
Before he looks in nature's glaſs;
Puns cannot form a witty ſcene,
Nor *Pedantry* for humour paſs.

To make men act as ſenſeleſs wood,
And chatter in a myſtic ſtrain,
Is a mere force on fleſh and blood,
And ſhews ſome error in the brain.

He that would thus refine on thee,
And turn thy ſtage into a ſchool,
The jeſt of *Punch* will ever be,
And ſtand confeſt the greater fool.

On PSYCHE *.

AT two afternoon for our *Pſyche* inquire,
Her tea-kettle's on, and her ſmock at the fire:
So loitring, ſo active, ſo buſy, ſo idle,
Which hath ſhe moſt need of, a ſpur or a bridle?
Thus, a greyhound out-runs the whole pack in a race,
Yet would rather be hang'd than he'd leave a warm place.

* Mrs. SICAN, a very ingenious well bred lady, wife to Mr. JOHN SICAN, an eminent grocer in *Dublin*.

She

She gives you ſuch plenty, it puts you in pain;
But ever with prudence takes care of the main.
To pleaſe you, ſhe knows how to chuſe a nice bit;
For her taſte is almoſt as refin'd as her wit.
To oblige a good friend, ſhe will trace ev'ry market,
It would do your heart good, to ſee how ſhe will
cark it.
Yet beware of her arts, for it plainly appears,
She ſaves half her victuals, by feeding your ears.

To Mrs. HOUGHTON *of* Bormount, *upon praiſing her huſband to Dr.* SWIFT.

YOU always are making a God of your
ſpouſe,
But this neither reaſon nor conſcience allows.
Perhaps you will ſay, 'tis in gratitude due,
And you adore him, becauſe he adores you.
Your argument's weak, and ſo you will find,
For you, by this rule, muſt adore all mankind.

On the collar of Mrs. DINGLEY's *lap-dog.*

PRAY ſteal me not, I'm Mrs. *Dingley's*,
Whoſe heart in this four-footed thing lies.

A left-

A left-handed letter to Dr. SHERIDAN *.

SIR,

DELANY reports it, and he has a ſhrewd tongue,
That we both are the part of the Clown and the Cow-dung;
We lye cramming ourſelves, and are ready to burſt,
Yet ſtill are no wiſer than we were at firſt.
Pudet hæc opprobria, I freely muſt tell ye,
Et dici potuiſſe, et non potuiſſe refelli. — *dici*,
Tho' DELANY adviſ'd you to plague me no longer,
You reply and rejoin like HOADLY of Bangor.
I muſt now, at one ſitting, pay off my old ſcore:
How many to anſwer? one, two, three, four.
But becauſe the three former are long ago paſt,
I ſhall, for method ſake, begin with the laſt,
You treat me like a boy that knocks down his foe,
Who, ere t'other gets up, demands the riſing blow.
Yet I know a young rogue, that thrown flat on the field,
Would, as he lay under, cry out, Sirrah, yield:
So, the *French*, when our generals ſoundly did pay 'm,
Went triumphant to church, and ſang ſtoutly Te Deum:

* All the humour of this poem is loſt, by the impoſſibility of printing it left-handed, as it was written.

So

So the famous TOM LEIGH, when quite run a-ground,
Comes off by out-laughing the company round.
In ev'ry vile pamphlet you'll read the ſame fancies,
Having thus overthrown all our further advances:
My offers of peace you ill underſtood,
Friend SHERIDAN, when will you know your own good?
'Twas to teach you in moderate language your duty;
For, were you a dog, I could not be rude t'ye:
As a good quiet ſoul, who no miſchief intends
To a quarrelſome fellow, cries, Let us be friends:
But we like ANTÆUS and HERCULES fight,
The oft'ner you fall, the oft'ner you write;
And I'll uſe you as he did that overgrown clown;
I'll firſt take you up, and then take you down:
And, 'tis your own caſe, for you never can wound
The worſt dunce in your ſchool, 'till he's heav'd from the ground.

I beg your pardon for uſing my left hand, but I was in great haſte, and the other hand was employed at the ſame time in writing ſome letters of buſineſs.

September 20,
1718.

I will ſend you the reſt when I have leiſure; but pray come to dinner with the company you met here laſt.

Upon

Upon ſtealing a CROWN *when the* DEAN *was aſleep.*

By Dr. SHERIDAN.

DEAR dean, ſince you in ſleepy wiſe
Have op'd your mouth, and clos'd your eyes,
Like Ghoſt I glide along your floor,
And ſoftly ſhut the parlour door:
For ſhould I break your ſweet repoſe,
Who knows what money you might loſe?
Since oftentimes it has been found,
A dream has giv'n ten thouſand pound.
Then ſleep, my friend, dear dean, ſleep on,
And all you get ſhall be your own;
Provided you to this agree,
That all you loſe belongs to me.

The DEAN'S *Anſwer.*

SO about twelve at night, the punk
Steals from the cully when he's drunk;
Nor is contented with a treat,
Without her privilege to cheat.
Nor can I the leaſt diff'rence find,
But that you left no clap behind.

But

But jeſt apart, reſtore, you capon ye,
My twelve thirteens* and ſix-pence ha'penny.
To eat my meat, and drink my medlicot,
And then to give me ſuch a deadly cut—
But 'tis obſerv'd, that men in gowns
Are moſt inclin'd to plunder *crowns*.
Could you but *change* a crown as eaſy
As you can ſteal one, how 'twould pleaſe ye!
I thought the lady † at *St. Cath'rines*
Knew how to ſet you better patterns;
For this I will not dine with *Agmondiſham* ‡;
And for his victuals let a ragman diſh 'm.

Saturday Night.

Probatur aliter.

A Long-ear'd beaſt, and a field-houſe for cattle,
Among the coals does often rattle.
A long-ear'd beaſt, a bird that prates
The bridegroom's firſt gift to their mates,
Is by all pious chriſtians thought,
In clergymen the greateſt fault.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and woman of Endor,
If your wife be a ſcold, that will mend her.

* An *Engliſh* ſhilling paſſeth for thirteen pence in *Ireland*.

† Lady *Montcaſhel*.

‡ *Agmondiſham Veſey*, Eſq; a very worthy gentleman for whom the author had a great eſteem.

With

With a long-ear'd beaſt, and med'cines
uſe,
Cooks make their fowl look tight and ſpruce.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and holy fable,
Strengthens the ſhoes of half the rabble.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and Rheniſh wine,
Lies in the lap of ladies fine.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and *Flanders* college,
Is Dr. *T——l* to my knowledge.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and building knight;
Cenſorious people do in ſpight.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and bird of night,
We ſinners are too apt to ſlight.
A long-ear'd beaſt, a ſhameful vermin,
A judge will eat, tho' clad in ermin.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and *Iriſh* cart,
Can leave a mark and give a ſmart.
A long-ear'd beaſt in mud to lie,
No bird in air ſo ſwift can fly.
A long-ear'd beaſt and a ſputt'ring old
whig.
I wiſh he were in it and dancing a jig.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and liquor to write,
Is a damnable ſmell both morning and night.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and the child of a ſheep,
At whiſt they will make a deſperate ſweep.

A beaſt long-ear'd, and 'till midnight you ſtay,
Will cover a houſe much better than clay.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and the drink you love beſt,
You call him a ſloven in earneſt or jeſt.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and the ſixteenth letter,
I'd not look at all, unleſs I look'd better.
A long-ear'd beaſt give me, and eggs unſound,
Or elſe I will not ride one inch of ground.
A long-ear'd beaſt, another name for jeer,
To ladies ſkins there is nothing comes ſo near.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and kind noiſe of a cat,
Is uſeful in journies take notice of that.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and what ſeaſons your beef,
On ſuch an occaſion the law gives relief.
A long-ear'd beaſt, a thing that force muſt drive in,
Bears up his houſe, that's of his own contriving.

To a friend who had been much abuſed in many different libels.

THE greateſt monarch may be ſtabb'd by night,
And fortune help the murd'rer in his flight;
The vileſt ruffian may commit a rape,
Yet ſafe from injur'd innocence eſcape;
And calumny, by working under ground,
Can, unreveng'd, the greateſt merit wound.
What's to be done? Shall wit and learning chuſe
To live obſcure, and have no fame to loſe?
By cenſure frighted out of honour's road,
Nor dare to uſe the gifts by heav'n beſtow'd;
Or fearleſs enter in thro' virtue's gate,
And buy diſtinction at the deareſt rate?

On NOISY TOM.

——Qui promittit, cives, urbem ſibi curæ,
Imperium fore, et Italiam, et delubra Deorum;
Quo patre ſit natus, num ignota matre inboneſtus,
Omnes mortales curare, et quærere cogit.
Tune Syri, Damæ, aut Dionyſi filius audes
Dejicere e ſaxo cives, aut tradere Cadmo?
HOR. Lib. i. Sat. vi. ver. 34—39.

Tranſlated literally.

Whoever promiſeth (in the ſenate) to take the city (of *Rome*) and the citizens under his care, nay, the whole empire, *Italy*, and the temples of the gods; ſuch a man compelleth all mortals curiouſly to enquire from what father he ſprung, and whether his mother were ſome obſcure diſhonourable female. (The people would cry out) What, thou, the ſon of *Syrus* *, or *Damas* *, or *Dionyſius* *, dareſt thou caſt our citizens down the *Tarpeian* rock, or deliver them priſoners to *Cadmus* †.

PARAPHRASED.

IF noiſy *Tom* (1) ſhould in the Senate prate,
That he would anſwer both for church and ſtate;
And, further to demonſtrate his affection,
Would take the kingdom into his protection:

* Uſual names of the ſlaves at *Rome*.

† *Cadmus* was a lictor, an officer who ſeized on criminals, like a conſtable or meſſenger of the H— of C—.

(1) Sir *T*— *P*—.

All

All mortals muſt be curious to enquire,
Who could this coxcomb be, and who his ſire?
What! thou the ſpawn of him (2) who ſham'd our iſle,
That traitor, aſſaſſin, informer vile.
Tho' by the female ſide (3) you proudly bring,
To mend your breed, the murderer of a king;
What was thy grand ſire (4) but a mountaineer,
Who held a cabbin for ten groats a year;
Whoſe maſter, *Moore* (5) preſerv'd him from the halter,
For ſtealing cows nor could he read the Pſalter?
Durſt thou, ungrateful, from the Senate chace
Thy founder's grandſon (6) and uſurp his place?

(2) The father of Sir *T*—*f*, * * * *, who engaged in a plot to murder king *William* III, but, to avoid being hanged, turned informer againſt his aſſociates, for which he was rewarded with a good eſtate, and made a baronet.

(3) *C*—*d*—*g*—*n's* family, *&c.*

(4) A poor thieving cottager under Mr. *Moore*, condemned at *Clonmell* aſſizes to be hanged for ſtealing cows.

(5) The grandfather of *Guy Moore*, Eſq; who procured him a pardon.

(6) *Guy Moore* was fairly elected member of P——t for *Clonmell*; but Sir *T*—— depending upon his intereſt with a certain party then prevailing, and ſince known by the title of *Parſon-hunters*, peti-

Juſt heaven! to ſee the dunghill daſtard brood
Survive in thee, and make the proverb good (7).
Then vote a worthy citizen (8) to jail,
In ſpite to juſtice, and refuſe his bail.

It is well known, that queen *Anne* had nominated Dr. *Swift* to an *Engliſh* biſhoprick, which was oppoſed by Dr. *Sharp*, archbiſhop of *York*, and the dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, who had prevailed on his grace to go with her to the queen to lay aſide the nomination, which her majeſty refuſed; but, the dutcheſs falling on her knees, and ſhewing the following prophecy to her majeſty, the biſhoprick was given to another. See the poem, *The Author on himſelf*, vol. vii.

tioned the houſe againſt him, out of which he was turned upon pretence of bribery, which the paying ſ his lawful debts was then ed to be.

(7) Save a thief from the gallows, and he will cut your throat.

(8) Mr. *G*—— *F*——, a very honeſt and eminent printer in *Dublin*, who was voted to Newgate upon a ridiculous complaint of one ſerjeant *Betteſworth*.

The W—dſ—r *Prophecy.*

About three months ago at *W—dſ—r*, a poor knight's widow was buried in the Cloyſters. In digging the grave, the ſexton ſtruck againſt a ſmall leaden coffer, about half a foot in length, and four inches wide. The poor man expecting he had diſcovered a treaſure, opened it with ſome difficulty; but found only a ſmall parchment, rolled up very faſt, put into a leather caſe; which caſe was tied at the top, and ſealed with a St. *George*, the impreſſion on black wax, very rude and gothick. The parchment was carried to a gentleman of learning, who found in it the following lines, written in a black old *Engliſh* letter, and in the orthography of the age, which ſeems to be about two hundred years ago. I made a ſhift to obtain a copy of it; but the tranſcriber, I find, hath in many parts altered the ſpelling to the modern way. The original, as I am informed, is now in hands of the ingenious Dr. *W*——, F.R.S. where, I ſuppoſe, the curious will not be refuſed the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it.

The lines ſeem to be a ſort of prophecy, and written in verſe, as old prophecies uſually are, but in a very hobling kind of meaſure. Their meaning is very dark, if it be any at all: Of which the learned reader can judge better than I. However it be, ſeveral perſons were of opinion, that they deſerved to be publiſhed, both as they diſcover ſomewhat of the genius of a former age, and may be an amuſement to the preſent.

WHEN a holy black *Swede* *, the ſon of *Bob*,
With a *ſaint* at his chin, and a *ſeal* at his fob:
Shall not ſee one † New-years-day in that year,
Then let old *Englond* make good chear:
Windſor and *Briſtow* then ſhall be
Joined together in the *Low-countree.*
Then ſhall the tall black ‡ *Deventry Bird*
Speak againſt peace right many a word;

* Dr. ROBINSON, biſhop of *Briſtol*, was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of *Utrecht*.

† There was then eleven days difference between the Old and New ſtyle, which latter did not take place in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, until *Sept.* 2, 1752, when eleven days were omitted, and the next day was called *Sept.* 13. The biſhop therefore ſet out from *England* before *Jan.* 1. O. S. and arrived in *Sweden* after *Jan.* 1. N. S.

‡ Earl of NOTTINGHAM.

And

And ſome ſhall admire his conyng wit,
For many good *groats* his tongue ſhall ſlit.
But ſpight of the *Harpy* *, that *crawls on all four*,
There ſhall be peace, pardie, and war no more.
But *Englond*, muſt cry alack and well-a-day,
If the *Stick* be taken from the *dead Sea*.
And dear *Englond*, if ought I underſtond,
Beware of *Carrots* from *Northumberlond* †,
Carrots ſown *Thynne* ‡ a deep root may get,
If ſo be they are in *Sommer ſet*:
Their § *Conyngs mark* thou, for I have been told,
They *aſſaſſine* when young, and *poiſon* when old.

* Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

† Lady ELIZABETH PERCY, ſole daughter and heir of JOCELINE PERCY, earl of *Northumberland*, was married to CHARLES SEYMOR, duke of *Somerſet*.

‡ THOMAS THYNNE, Eſq; a gentleman of very great eſtate, who was courting the above lady, after the death of her firſt huſband HENRY CAVENDISH, earl of *Ogle*, only ſon to HENRY, duke of *Newcaſtle*, who died before he was of age to cohabit with her; being ſet upon in the *Hay-Market*, *London*, was murdered by count *Coningſmark*, a *Poliſh* nobleman (who paid his addreſſes to this lady, but was refuſed) and two ruffians, who ſhot Mr. THYNNE in his coach. The count made his eſcape, but the others were hanged. There is a monument in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, erected to the memory of Mr. THYNNE, with ſome hieroglyphic figures, repreſenting the manner of his murder.

§ Count CONINGSMARK.

Root

Root out theſe *Carrots*, O thou *, whoſe name,
Is backwards and forwards always the ſame;
And keep cloſe to thee always that *name*,
Which † backwards and forwards is almoſt the ſame.
And *Englond* wouldſt thou be happy ſtill,
Bury thoſe *Carrots* under a ‡ *Hill*.

VERSES *occaſioned by the ſudden drying up of* ST. PATRICK'S WELL *near Trinity College*, Dublin, *in* 1726.

BY holy zeal inſpir'd, and led by fame [*a*],
To thee, once fav'rite iſle, with joy I came;
What time the *Goth*, the *Vandal*, and the *Hun*,
Had my own native *Italy* [*b*] o'er-run,
Ierne to the world's remoteſt parts,
Renoun'd for valour [*c*], policy, and arts.

* ANNA Regina.

† Lady MASHAM.

‡ Lady MASHAM's maiden name was HILL.

[*a*] *Feſtus Avienus* flouriſhed in 370. See his poem *De oris Maritimis*, where he uſes this expreſſion concerning *Ireland*, "Inſula ſacra et ſic Inſulam dixere priſci; eamque late Gens Hibernorum colit."

[*b*] *Italy* was not properly the native place of *St. Patrick*, but the place of his education, and whence he received his miſſion; and becauſe he had his new birth there, hence, by poetical licence, and by ſcripture-figure, our author calls that country his native *Italy*.

[*c*] *Julius Solinus*, who lived about the time of *Tacitus*, in

Hither from *Colchos*[*d*], with the fleecy ore,
Jaſon arrived two thouſand years before,
Thee[*e*], happy iſland, *Pallas* call'd her own,
When haughty *Britain* was a land unknown.
From thee, with pride, the *Caledonians*[*f*] trace
The glorious founder of their kingly race:

the year 80, Chap. 21. ſpeaking of the *Iriſh* as a warlike nation, ſays, that the wives in *Ireland*, when delivered of a ſon, give the child its firſt food off the point of their huſband's ſword. "Puerpera, "ſi quando marem edidit, "primos cibos gladio im- "ponit mariti, inque os Par- "vuli ſummo mucrone auſpi- "cium alimentorum leviter "infert, et gentilibus votis "optat, non aliter quam in "bello et inter arma mortem "oppetat." Again, "Præ- "cipua viris gloria eſt in "armorum tutela."

Polydore Vergil ſays, they were diſtinguiſhed for their ſkill in muſic. "Hiberni "ſunt muſice peritiſſimi." So *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who was preceptor to king *John*, in his *Topographia Hiberniæ*, Chap. 11. "In muſicis ſo- "lum, præ omni natione "quam vidimus, incompa- "rabiliter eſt inſtructa gens "hæc."

[*d*] *Orpheus*, on the antient author of the *Greek* poem on the *Argonautic* expedition, whoever he be, ſays, that *Jaſon*, who manned the ſhip *Argos* at *Theſſaly*, ſailed to *Ireland*. And *Adrianus Junius* ſays the ſame thing in theſe lines.

Illa ego ſum Graiis, olim glacialis Ierne
Dicta, et Jaſoniæ bene cognita nautis.

[*e*] *Tacitus*, in the life of *Julius Agricola* ſays, that the harbours of *Ireland*, on account of their commerce, were better known to the trading part of the world, than thoſe of *Britain*. "Solum, "cœlumque, et ingenia cul- "tuſque hominum, haud "multum a Britannia dif- "ferunt; melius aditus, por- "tuſque per commercia et "negotiatores cogniti."

[*f*] *Fordun*, in his *Scoti-Chronicon*, *Hector*, *Boethius*, *Buchanan*, and all the *Scotch* hiſtorians agree, that *Fergus*, ſon of *Ferquard* king of *Ire-*

Thy

Thy martial ſons, whom now they dare
deſpiſe,
Did once their land ſubdue and civilize:
Their dreſs, their language, and the *Scottiſh*
name,
Confeſs the ſoil from whence the victors
came.
Well may they boaſt that antient blood,
which runs
Within their veins, who are thy younger ſons,
A conqueſt and a colony from thee,
The mother-kingdom left her children free;

land, was the firſt king of *Scotland*, which country he ſubdued. That he began to reign 330 years before the Chriſtian æra, and in returning to viſit his native country, was ſhipwrecked on thoſe rocks in the county of *Antrim*, which from that accident have been ſince named *Carrickfergus*. His deſcendants reigned after him in *Scotland*; for the crown was ſettled on him and his lineal ſucceſſors. See the liſt of the kings of *Scotland* in *Hector Boethius* and *George Buchanan*, which begins thus: "1. Ferguſius "primus Scotorum rex, filius "Ferquardi regis Hiberniæ, "regnare incepit anno ante "Chriſti ſervatoris in carnem "adventum trecenteſimo tri-"geſimo. Regnavit annis "xxv et naufragio periit ad "Scopulum Ferguſis (Crag-"fergus vernacule) in mari "Hiberniæ."

The *Iriſh* language and habit are ſtill retained in the northern parts of *Scotland*, where the *Highlanders* ſpeak the *Iriſh* tongue, and uſe their antient dreſs. As to the name *Scotland*, *Camden de Hibernia* mentions it from the authority of *Iſidore* and *Beda*, that they called *Ireland Scotia*, and that *Scotland* was termed *Scotia a Scotis Incolis, et inde Scotiæ nomen cum Scotis in Britanniam noſtram commigraſſe.* Bede, Lib. i. cap. 1. ſays, *Hibernia propria Scotorum patria.*

From

From thee no mark of ſlavery they felt,
Not ſo with thee thy baſe invaders dealt;
Invited here to 'vengeful *Morrough's* aid [*g*],
Thoſe whom they could not conquer, they betray'd.
Britain, by thee we fell, ungrateful iſle!
Not by thy valour but ſuperior guile:
Britain, with ſhame confeſs, this land of mine [*h*]
Firſt taught thee human knowledge and divine;

[*g*] In the reign of king *Henry* II, *Dermot M'Morough*, king of *Leinſter*, being deprived of his kingdom by *Roderick O'Connor*, king of *Connaught*, he invited the *Engliſh* over as auxiliaries, and promiſed *Richard Strongbow*, earl of *Pembroke*, his daughter, and all his dominions as a portion. By this aſſiſtance *M'Morough* recovered his crown, and *Strongbow* became poſſeſſed of all *Leinſter*. After this, more forces being ſent into *Ireland*, the *Engliſh* became powerful here; and when *Henry* II arrived, the *Iriſh* princes ſubmitted to his government, and began to uſe the *Engliſh* laws.

[*h*] St. *Patrick* arrived in *Ireland* in the year 431, and completed the converſion of the natives, which had been begun by *Palladius* and others. And as biſhop *Nicholſon* obſerves (who was better acquainted with the contents of all the antient hiſtories of both kingdoms than any man of the age) *Ireland* ſoon became the fountain of learning, to which all the weſtern chriſtians, as well as the *Engliſh*, had recourſe, not only for inſtruction in the principles of religion, but in all ſorts of literature; *viz. Legendi et Scholaſticæ Eruditionis gratia*. For within a century after the death of St. *Patrick*, the *Iriſh* ſeminaries of learning increaſed to ſuch a degree, that moſt parts of *Europe* ſent hither their children to be educated, and had from hence both their biſhops and doctors. See venerable *Bede*, an *Engliſh* hiſtorian of undoubted

My prelates and my ſtudents, ſent from hence,
Made your ſons converts both to God and ſenſe:
Not like the paſtors of thy rav'nous breed,
Who come to fleece the flocks, and not to feed.

Wretched *Ierne*: with what grief I ſee
The fatal changes time hath made in thee:
The Chriſtian rites I introduc'd in vain:
Lo! Infidelity return'd again.
Freedom and virtue in thy ſons I found,
Who now in vice and ſlavery are drown'd.

credit, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. iii. cap. 4, 7, 10, 11, 27. Among other *Iriſh* apoſtles, he ſays, Saint *Columb* converted all the *Picts*, and many other *Britons*; and that Saint *Aidan* was the inſtructor of king *Oſwald's Saxon* ſubjects in Chriſtianity. *Camden in Hibernia* writes; "Subſequente "ætate Scoticis monarchis "nihil ſanctius, nihil erudi- "tius fuerit, et in univerſam "Europam ſanctiſſimorum "viorum examina emiſerint." He ſays farther, that they not only repaired to *Ireland*, as to the mart of learning, but alſo brought from thence even the form of their letters: "An- "gloſaxones etiam noſtri illa "ætate in Hiberniam tan- "quam ad bonarum literarum "mercaturam undique con- "fluxerunt; unde de viris "ſanctis ſæpiſſime in noſtris "ſcriptoribus legitur: Aman- "datus eſt ad diſciplinam in "Hiberniam. Indeque noſ- "trates Saxones rationem "formandi literas accepiſſe "videantur, quum eodem "plane charactere uſi fuerint, "qui hodie Hibernicis eſt in "uſu."

By

By faith and prayer, this croſier in my hand,
I drove the venom'd ſerpent from thy land;
The ſhepherd in his bower might ſleep or ſing [*i*],
Nor dread the adder's tooth, nor ſcorpion's ſting.

With omens oft I ſtrove to warn thy ſwains,
Omens, the types of thy impending chains.
I ſent the magpye from the *Britiſh* ſoil,
With reſtleſs beak thy blooming fruit to ſpoil;
To din thine ears with unharmonious clack,
And haunt thy holy walls in white and black.
What elſe are thoſe thou ſeeſt in biſhop's geer,
Who crop the nurſeries of learning here?
Aſpiring, greedy, full of ſenſeleſs prate,
Devour the church, and chatter to the ſtate.

As you grew more degenerate and baſe,
I ſent you millions of the croaking race;
Emblems of inſects vile, who ſpread their ſpawn
Thro' all thy land, in armour, fur, and lawn;

[*i*] There are no ſnakes, vipers, or toads in *Ireland*; and even hogs were not known here until about the year 1700. The magpyes came a ſhort time before, and the *Norway* rats ſince. *Iriſh edit.*

A nauſeous

A nauſeous brood, that fills your ſenate walls,
And in the chambers of your viceroy crawls.

See where the new-devouring vermin runs,
Sent in my anger from the land of *Huns*;
With harpy claws it undermines the ground,
And ſudden ſpreads a numerous offſpring round;
Th' amphibious tyrant, with his rav'nous band,
Drains all thy lakes of fiſh, of fruits thy land.

Where is the ſacred well that bore my name?
Fled to the fountain back, from whence it came!
Fair freedom's emblem once which ſmoothly flows,
And bleſſings equally on all beſtows.
Here, from the neighbouring [*k*] nurſery of arts,
The ſtudents drinking, rais'd their wit and parts;
Here, for an age and more, improv'd their vein,
Their *Phœbus* I, my ſpring their *Hippocrene*.

[*k*] The univerſity of *Dublin*, called *Trinity College*, was founded by queen *Elizabeth* in 1591.

Diſcourag'd

Diſcourag'd youths, now all their hopes muſt fail,
Condemn'd to country cottages and ale;
To foreign prelates make a ſlaviſh court,
And by their ſweat procure a mean ſupport;
Or, for the claſſicks read th'attorney's guide;
Collect exciſe; or wait upon the tide.
O! had I been apoſtle to the *Swiſs*,
Or hardy *Scot*, or any land but this;
Combin'd in arms, they had their foes defy'd,
And kept their liberty, or bravely dy'd.
Thou ſtill with tyrants in ſucceſſion curſt,
The laſt invaders trampling on the firſt:
Nor fondly hope for ſome reverſe of fate,
Virtue herſelf would now return too late.
Not half the courſe of miſery is run,
Thy greateſt evils are ſcarce yet begun.
Soon ſhall thy ſons, the time is juſt at hand,
Be all made captives in their native land;
When, for the uſe of no *Hibernian* born,
Shall riſe one blade of graſs, one ear of corn;
When ſhells and leather ſhall for money paſs,
Nor thy oppreſſing lords [*l*] afford the braſs.
But all turn leaſers to that [*m*] mongril breed,
Who from thee ſprung, yet on thy vitals feed;

[*l*] *Wood's* ruinous project againſt the people of *Ireland*, was ſupported by Sir *Robert Walpole* in 1724.

[*m*] The abſentees, who ſpend the income of their *Iriſh* eſtates, places, and penſions in *England*.

Who to yon rav'nous iſle thy treaſures bear,
And waſte in luxury thy harveſts there;
For pride and ignorance a proverb grown,
The jeſt of wits, and to the court unknown.

I ſcorn thy ſpurious and degenerate line,
And from this hour my patronage reſign.

To the Rev. Mr. DANIEL JACKSON, *to be humbly preſented by Mr.* SHERIDAN *in Perſon, with Reſpect, Care, and Speed.*

To be delivered by and with Mr. SHERIDAN.

Dear DAN,

HERE I return my truſt, nor aſk
One penny for remittance;
If I have well perform'd my taſk,
Pray ſend me an acquittance.

Too long I bore this weighty pack,
As *Hercules* the ſky,
Now take him you, *Dan Atlas*, back,
Let me be ſtander-by.

Not all the witty things you ſpeak,
In compaſs of a day;
Not half the puns you make a week,
Should bribe his longer ſtay.

With

With me you left him out at nurſe,
  Yet are you not my debtor,
For, as he hardly can be worſe,
  I ne'er could make him better.

He rhimes and puns, and puns and rhimes,
  Juſt as he did before;
And when he's laſh'd a hundred times,
  He rhimes and puns the more.

When rods are laid on ſchool-boys bums,
  The more they friſk and ſkip:
The ſchool-boy's top but louder hums,
  The more they uſe the whip.

Thus, a lean beaſt beneath a load,
  (A beaſt of *Iriſh* breed)
Will in a tedious, dirty road,
  Outgo the prancing ſteed.

You knock him down and down in vain,
  And lay him flat before ye;
For, ſoon as he gets up again,
  He'll ſtrut and cry, *Victoria!*

At ev'ry ſtroke of mine, he fell,
'Tis true he roar'd and cry'd;
But his impenetrable ſhell
Could feel no harm beſide.

The tortoiſe thus, with motion ſlow,
Will clamber up a wall;
Yet, ſenſeleſs to the hardeſt blow,
Gets nothing but a fall.

Dear *Dan*, then, why ſhould you or I
Attack his pericrany?
And ſince it is in vain to try,
We'll ſend him to *Delany*.

POSTSCRIPT.

Lean *Tom*, when I ſaw him, laſt week, on his horſe awry,
Threat'n'd loudly to turn me to ſtone with his ſorcery.
But, I think, little *Dan*, that in ſpight of what our foe ſays,
He will find I read *Ovid*, and his metamorphoſis.
For omitting the firſt (where I make a compariſon,
With a ſort of alluſion to *Putland* or *Harriſon*)
Yet by my deſcription, you'll find he in ſhort is
A pack and a garran, a top and a tortoiſe.

So

So I hope from henceforward you ne'er will aſk, can I maul
This teazing, conceited, rude, inſolent animal?
And, if this rebuke might turn to his benefit,
(For I pity the man) I ſhould then be glad of it.

A Copy of a Copy of Verſes from THOMAS SHERIDAN, *Clerk, to* GEORGE NIM-DAN-DEAN, *Eſq; Written* July 15*th*, 1721, *at Night.*

I'D have you t' know *George*, *Dan*, *Dean*, and *Nim*,
That I've learned how verſe t' compoſe trim,
Much better b'half th'n you, n'r you, n'r him,
And th't I rid'cule their, 'nd your flam flim,
Ay' b't then, p'rhaps ſays you, t's a m'rry whim
With 'bundance of mark't notes i' th' rim,
So th't I ought n't for t' be moroſe 'nd t' look grim,
Think n't your 'p'ſtle put m' in a meagrim;
Though, 'n rep't't'on day, I'ppear ver' ſlim,
Th' laſt bowl't *Helſham's* did m' head t' ſwim,
So th't I h'd man' aches 'n 'v'ry ſcrubb'd limb,
Cauſe th' top of th' bowl I'h'd oft us'd t' ſkim;

1 GEORGE ROCHFORT, Eſq;

2 His brother JOHN ROCHFORT, called NIM, becauſe he was a great hunter, from NIMROD.

3 The Rev. Mr. DANIEL JACKSON.

4 Dr. SWIFT, dean of St. *Patrick's*.

And b'ſides[5] *D'lan'* ſwears th't I'h'd ſwall'w'd ſ'v'r'l brim-
mers, 'nd that my vis'ge's cov'r'd o'r with r'd pim-
ples: m'r'o'er though m' ſcull were (s'tis n't) 's ſtrong's tim-
ber, 't muſt have ak'd. Th' clans of th' c'lledge Sanh'drim,
pres'nt th'r humbl' and 'fect'nate reſpects; that's t'ſay, *D'lan'*, *'chlin*, *P. Lud'l*, *Dic' St'wart*, *H'lſham*, capt'n *P'rr' Walmſ'nd* * longſh'nks *Timm.*

A Dialogue between an eminent † *Lawyer, and Dr.* SWIFT, *D. S. P. D. Being an Alluſion to the Firſt Satyr of the Second Book of* Horace,—Sunt quibus in Satyra, *&c.*

Written *February*, 1728.

SINCE there are perſons who complain
There's too much ſatyr in my vein,
That I am often found exceeding
The rules of raillery and breeding,
With too much freedom treat my betters,
Not ſparing even men of letters:

5 Dr. DELANY.

* Mr. STOPFORD of *Finglas*, miniſter of that pariſh, afterwards biſhop of *Cloyne*.

† Mr. LINDSAY, who was afterwards a judge of the *Common-Pleas*.

You,

You, who are ſkill'd in lawyers lore,
What's your advice? Shall I give o'er,
Nor ever fools or knaves expoſe,
Either in verſe or hum'rous proſe,
And to avoid all future ill,
In my 'Scrutore lock up my quill?

Since you are pleas'd to condeſcend
To aſk the judgment of a friend,
Your caſe conſider'd, I muſt think
You ſhould withdraw from pen and ink,
Forbear your poetry and jokes,
And live like other Chriſtian folks;
Or, if the muſes muſt inſpire
Your fancy with their pleaſing fire,
Take ſubjects ſafer for your wit,
Than thoſe on which you lately writ,
Commend the times, your thoughts correct,
And follow the prevailing ſect;
Aſſert that *Hyde* *, in writing ſtory,
Shews all the malice of a tory,
While *Burnet* † in his deathleſs page,
Diſcovers freedom without rage;
To *Woolſton* ‡ recommend our youth
For learning, probity, and truth,

* Earl of *Clarendon*, who wrote of the civil wars, begun in the year 1641.

† Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who wrote the hiſtory of his own times, &c.

‡ A degraded clergyman of the church of *England*, who wrote againſt the miracles of our Saviour.

That noble genius who unbinds
The chains which fetter free-born minds,
Redeems us from the ſlaviſh fears
Which laſted near two thouſand years;
He can alone the prieſthood humble,
Make gilded ſpires and altars tumble.

Muſt I commend againſt my conſcience
Such ſtupid blaſphemy and nonſenſe?
To ſuch a ſubject tune my lyre,
And ſing like one of *Milton's* choir,
Where devils to a vale retreat,
And call the laws of wiſdom fate,
Lament upon their hapleſs fall,
That force free virtue ſhould enthral;
Or, ſhall the charms of wealth and pow'r
Make me pollute the Muſes bower?

As from the tripod of *Apollo*,
Hear from my deſk the words that follow:
Some by philoſophers miſled,
Muſt honour you alive and dead;
And ſuch as know what *Greece* hath writ;
Muſt taſte your irony and wit.
While moſt that are, or would be great,
Muſt dread your pen, your perſon hate,

And

And you on *Drapier's* * hill muſt lye,
And there without a mitre dye.

PAULUS. *By Mr.* LYNDSAY.

Dublin, Sept. 7, 1728.

A SLAVE to crowds, ſcorch'd with the ſummers heats,
In courts the wretched lawyer toils and ſweats;
While ſmiling nature in her beſt attire,
Regales each ſenſe, and vernal joys inſpire.
Can he who knows that real good ſhould pleaſe,
Barter for gold his liberty and eaſe?
Thus *Paulus* preach'd:—When entering at the door,
Upon his board a client pours the ore:
He graſps the ſhining gift, pores o'er the cauſe,
Forgets the ſun, and dozeth on the laws.

* In the county of *Armagh*.

The ANSWER. *By Dr.* SWIFT.

LYNDSAY miſtakes the matter quite,
And honeſt *Paulus* judges right.
Then, why theſe quarrels to the ſun,
Without whoſe aid you're all undone.
Did *Paulus* e'er complain of ſweat?
Did *Paulus* e'er the ſun forget?
The influence of whoſe golden beams,
Soon licks up all unſav'ry ſteams.
The ſun you ſay his face hath kiſt:
It has: but then it greas'd his fiſt.
True lawyers for the wiſeſt ends,
Have always been *Apollo's* friends.
Not for his ſuperficial powers
Of ripening fruits or gilding flowers;
Not for inſpiring poets brains,
With pennyleſs and ſtarv'ling ſtrains;
Not for his boaſted healing art;
Not for his ſkill to ſhoot the dart;
Nor yet becauſe he ſweetly fiddles;
Nor for his prophecies in riddles:
But for a more ſubſtantial cauſe,
Apollo's patron of the laws;
Whom *Paulus* ever muſt adore,
As parent of the golden ore.

By

By *Phœbus* an inceſtuous birth,
Begot upon his grandame earth.
By *Phœbus* firſt produc'd to light,
By *Vulcan* form'd ſo round and bright;
Then offer'd at the ſhrine of juſtice,
By clients to her prieſts and truſtees;
Nor, when we ſee *Aſtræa* ſtand
With even balance in her hand,
Muſt we ſuppoſe ſhe hath in view,
How to give every man his due;
Her ſcales, you ſee her only hold,
To weigh her prieſts, the lawyers gold.
Now ſhould I own your caſe was grievous,
Poor ſweaty *Paulus*, who'd believe us?
'Tis very true, and none denies,
At leaſt that ſuch complaints are wiſe;
'Tis wiſe no doubt, as clients fat ye more,
To cry, like ſtateſmen, *Quanta patimur?*

But, ſince the truth muſt needs be
ſtretched,
To prove that lawyers are ſo wretched:
This parodox I'll undertake,
For *Paulus* and for *Lindſay's* ſake.
By topicks, which tho' I abomine 'em,
May ſerve as arguments *ad hominem*;

Yet,

Yet, I diſdain to offer thoſe
Made uſe of by detracting foes:
I own the curſes of mankind,
Sit light upon a lawyer's mind;
The clamours of ten thouſand tongues,
Break not his reſt, nor hurt his lungs.
I own, his conſcience always free,
Provided he has got his fee.
Secure of conſtant peace within,
He knows no guilt, who knows no ſin.
Yet, well they merit to be pitied,
By clients always over witted.
And though the goſpel ſeems to ſay,
What heavy burthens lawyers lay,
Upon the ſhoulders of their neighbour,
Nor lend a finger to the labour.
Always for ſaving their own bacon,
No doubt the text is here miſtaken,
The copy's falſe, and ſenſe is rack'd,
To prove it, I appeal to fact;
And thus by demonſtration ſhew,
What burthens lawyers undergo,
With early clients at his door,
Tho' he was drunk the night before:
And, crop-ſick with unclub'd for wine,
The wretch muſt be at court by nine.

Half

Half ſunk beneath his briefs and bag,
As ridden by a midnight hag:
Then from the bar harangues the bench,
In *Engliſh* vile, and viler *French*,
And *Latin*, vileſt of the three;
And all for poor ten moidores fee.
Of paper how is he profuſe?
With periods long, in terms abſtruſe.
What pains he takes to be prolix?
A thouſand lines to ſtand for ſix!
Of common ſenſe without a word in,
And is not this a grievous burden?

The lawyer is a common drudge,
To fight our cauſe before the judge;
And what is yet a greater curſe,
Condemn'd to bear his clients purſe,
While he at eaſe, ſecure and light,
Walks boldly home at dead of night.
When term is ended leaves the town,
Trots to his country-manſion down;
And diſencumber'd of his load,
No danger dreads upon the road;
Deſpiſeth rapparees, and rides
Safe through the *Newry* mountains ſides.
Lyndſay, 'tis you have ſet me on,
To ſtate this queſtion *pro* and *con*.

My

My ſatyr may offend, 'tis true,
However, it concerns not you.

I own there may in every clan,
Perhaps be found one honeſt man;
Yet link them cloſe, in this they jump,
To be but ſharpers in the lump.
Imagine *Lyndſay* at the bar,
He's much the ſame his brethren are.
Well taught by practice to imbibe,
The fundamentals of his tribe:
And in his clients juſt defence,
Muſt deviate oft from common ſenſe;
And make his ignorance diſcern'd,
To get the name of council learn'd.
As *Lucus* comes a *non Lucendo*,
And wiſely do as other men do,
But ſhift him to a better ſcene,
Among his crew of Rogues in grain,
Surrounded with compaſſions fit,
To taſte his humour, ſenſe, and wit;
You'd ſwear he never took a fee,
Nor knew his law in A, B, C.
'Tis hard where dulneſs over-rules,
To keep good ſenſe in crowds of fools.
And we admire the man who ſaves,
His honeſty in crowds of knaves;

Nor

Nor yields up virtue at diſcretion,
To Villains of his own profeſſion.
Lyndſay, you know what pains you take,
In both, yet barely ſave your ſtake:
And will you venture both anew,
To ſit among that venal crew,
That pack of mimick legiſlators,
Abandon'd, ſtupid, ſlaviſh praters?
For, as the rabble dawb and riſle
The fool who ſcrambles for a trifle,
Who for his pain is cuff'd and kick'd,
Drawn through the dirt, his pocket pickt;
You muſt expect the like diſgrace,
Scrambling with rogues to get a place,
Muſt loſe the honour you have gain'd,
Your num'rous virtues foully ſtain'd:
Diſclaim for ever all pretence
To common honeſty and ſenſe,
And join in friendſhip with a ſtrict tye,
To *****, **** *****.

On Dr. RUNDLE, *biſhop of* DERRY.

MAKE *Rundle* biſhop; fye for ſhame!
An *Arian* to uſurp the name!
A biſhop in the iſle of Saints!
How will his brethren make complaints?

Dare

Dare any of the mitred hoſt
Confer on him the HOLY GHOST;
In mother church to breed a variance,
By coupling *Orthodox* with *Arians*?

Yet, were he *Heathen*, *Turk*, or *Jew*,
What is there in it ſtrange or new?
For, let us hear the weak pretence,
His brethren find to take offence;
Of whom there are but four at moſt,
Who know there is an HOLY GHOST:
The reſt, who boaſt they have conferr'd it,
Like *Paul's Epheſians*, never heard it;
And, when they gave it, well 'tis known,
They gave what never was their own.

RUNDLE a biſhop! well he may;
He's ſtill a *Chriſtian* more than they.

We know the ſubject of their quarrels;
The man has learning, ſenſe, and morals.

There is a reaſon ſtill more weighty;
'Tis granted he believes a deity.
Has ev'ry circumſtance to pleaſe us,
'Though fools may doubt his faith in J—.

But

But why ſhould he with that be loaded,
Now twenty years from that exploded?
And, is not this objection odd
From rogues who ne'er believ'd a God?
For liberty a champion ſtout,
'Though not ſo goſpel-ward devout.
While others, hither ſent to ſave us,
Came but to plunder and enſlave us:
Nor ever own'd a pow'r divine,
But *Mammon*, and the *G--rman* line.

Say, how did *Rundle* undermine 'em:
Who ſhew'd a better *Jus divinum?*
From antient canons would not vary,
But thrice refus'd *Epiſcopari.*

Our biſhop's predeceſſor, *Magus*,
Would offer all the ſands of *Tagus*;
Or ſell his children, houſe, and lands,
For that one gift, to lay on hands:
But all his gold could not avail
To have the *Spirit* ſet to ſale.
Said ſurly *Peter*, *Magus*, prithee
Be gone: thy money periſh with thee.
Were *Peter* now alive, perhaps
He might have found a ſcore of chaps,

Could he but make his gift appear
In rents three thouſand pounds a year.

Some fancy this promotion odd,
As not the handy-work of GOD;
Though ev'n the biſhops diſappointed,
Muſt own it made by GOD's *Anointed.*
And well we know, the *Congee Regal*
Is more ſecure as well as legal.
Becauſe our lawyers all agree,
That biſhopricks are held in fee.

Dear *Baldwin* chaſte, and witty *Croſſe,*
How ſorely I lament your loſs?
That ſuch a pair of wealthy ninnies
Should ſlip your time of dropping guineas;
For, had you made the king your debtor,
Your title had been ſo much better.

The FABLE *of the* BITCHES.

Written in the Year 1715, on an Attempt to repeal the Teſt Act.

A BITCH that was full pregnant grown,
By all the dogs and curs in town;
Finding her ripen'd time was come,
Her litter teeming from her womb,

Went

Went here and there, and ev'ry where,
To find an eaſy place to lay-her.

At length to * *Muſick's* houſe ſhe came,
And begg'd like one both blind and lame;
" My only friend, my dear," ſaid ſhe,
" You ſee 'tis mere neceſſity,
" Hath ſent me to your houſe to whelp;
" I'll dye, if you deny your help.

With fawning whine, and rueful tone,
With artful ſigh and feigned groan,
With couchant cringe, and flattering tale,
Smooth *Bawty* † did ſo far prevail;
That *Muſick* gave her leave to litter,
But mark what followed,—Faith, ſhe bit her.

Whole baſkets full of bits and ſcraps,
And broth enough to fill her paps,
For well ſhe knew her num'rous brood,
For want of milk, would ſuck her blood.

But when ſhe thought her pains were done,
And now 'twas high time to be gone;

* *Muſick's* houſe, the church of *England.*

† *Bawty* (the name of a bitch in *Scotch*) alludes to the kirk.

In civil terms,—" My friend," ſays ſhe,
" My houſe you've had on courteſy;
" And now I earneſtly deſire,
" That you would with your cubs retire:
" For ſhould you ſtay but one week longer,
" I ſhall be ſtarv'd with cold and hunger."

The gueſt reply'd—" My friend, your
" leave
" I muſt a little longer crave;
" Stay till my tender cubs can find,
" Their way---for now you ſee they're
" blind;
" But when we've gather'd ſtrength, I
" ſwear,
" We'll to our barn again repair."

The time paſs'd on, and *Muſick* came,
Her kennel once again to claim;
But *Bawty*, loſt to ſhame and honour,
Set all her cubs at once upon her;
Made her retire, and quit her right,
And loudly cry'd --- a bite, a bite.

The MORAL.

Thus did the *Grecian* wooden horſe
Conceal a fatal armed force:

No

No ſooner brought within the walls,
But *Iliam's* loſt, and *Priam* falls.

Copy of the BIRTH-DAY *Verſes on Mr.* FORD.

COME, be content, ſince out it muſt,
For *Stella* has betray'd her truſt,
And whiſp'ring charg'd me not to ſay,
That Mr. *Ford* was born to day:
Or, if at laſt I needs muſt blab it
According to my uſual habit,
She bid me with a ſerious face,
Be ſure conceal the time and place,
And not my compliment to ſpoil
By calling this your native ſoil,
Or vex the ladies when they knew,
That you are turning forty-two;
But, if theſe topicks ſhall appear
Strong arguments to keep you here,
I think, though you judge hardly of it,
Good manners muſt give place to profit.

The nymphs with whom you firſt began,
Are each become a *Harridan*;
And *Montague* ſo far decay'd,
Her lovers now muſt all be paid,

And ev'ry belle that ſince aroſe
Has her cotemporary beaux.
Your former comrades once ſo bright,
With whom you toaſted half the night,
Of rheumatiſm and pox complain,
And bid adieu to dear champain.
Your great protectors once in pow'r
Are now in exile or the tow'r.
Your foes triumphant o'er the laws,
Who hate your perſon and your cauſe,
If once they get you on the ſpot,
You muſt be guilty of the plot.
For true or falſe they'll ne'er enquire,
But uſe you ten times worſe than *Prior* *.

In *London*, what would you do there?
Can you, my friend, with patience bear,
Nay, would it not your paſſion raiſe
Worſe than a pun, or *Iriſh* phraſe;
To ſee a ſcoundrel ſtrut and hector,
A foot-boy to ſome rogue director;
To look on vice triumphant round,
And virtue trampled on the ground?
Obſerve where bloody —— ſtands
With torturing engines in his hands,

* MAT. PRIOR, Eſq; a famous poet. See his works.

Hear him blaſpheme, and ſwear and rail,
Threat'ning the pillory and jail,
If this you think a pleaſing ſcene,
To *London* ſtrait return again,
Where you have told us from experience
Are ſwarms of bugs and preſbyterians.

I thought my very ſpleen would burſt,
When fortune hither drove me firſt;
Was full as hard to pleaſe as you,
Nor perſons, names, nor places knew:
But now I act as other fo'ke,
Like priſoners when their jayl is broke.

If you have *London* ſtill at heart,
We'll make a ſmall one here, by art:
The difference is not much between
St. *James's-Park* and *Stephen's-Green*;
And *Dawſon-ſtreet* will ſerve as well
To lead you thither, as *Pall-mall*,
Nor want a paſſage through the palace,
To choque your ſight, and raiſe your malice.
The deanry-houſe may well be matcht
(Under correction) with the *Thatcht* *,
Nor ſhall I, when you hither come,
Demand a crown a quart for ſtumm.

* A famous tavern in St. *James's-ſtreet*, near the palace.

Then for a middle aged chamber,
Stella may vye with your main charmer,
She's now as handſome ev'ry bit,
And has a thouſand times her wit.
The dean and *Sheridan*, I hope,
Will half ſupply a *Gay* and *Pope*;
Corbet *, though yet I know his worth not,
No doubt, will prove a good *Arbuthnot*:
I throw into the bargain, *Tim*;
In *London* can you equal him?
What think you of my fav'rite clan,
Robin † and *Jack*, and *Jack* and *Dan*,
Fellows of modeſt worth and parts,
With chearful looks, and honeſt hearts?

Can you on *Dublin* look with ſcorn?
Yet here were you and *Ormond* ‡ born.

Oh! were but you and I ſo wiſe,
To ſee with *Robert Gratton's* eyes,
Robin adores that ſpot of earth,
That lit'ral ſpot which gave him birth,

* Dr. CORBET, afterwards dean of St. *Patrick's* cathedral, *Dublin*, on the death of Dr. MATURINE, who ſucceeded Dr. SWIFT.

† Rev. ROBERT and JOHN GRATTON, brothers; JOHN and DANIEL JACKSON.

‡ JAMES BUTLER, the late duke of *Ormond*.

And

And ſwears *Belcamp* * is, to his taſte,
As fine as *Hampton-Court* at leaſt.
When to your friends you would enhance
The praiſe of *Italy*, or *France*,
For grandeur, elegance, and wit,
We gladly hear you and ſubmit:
But then to come and keep a clutter,
For this or that ſide of a gutter.
To live in this or t'other iſle,
We cannot think it worth your while;
For, take it kindly or amiſs,
The diff'rence but amounts to this,
We bury, on our ſide the channel
In linen †; and on yours in flannel;
You, for the news are ne'er to ſeek,
While we, perhaps may wait a week:
You happy folks, are ſure to meet
An hundred whores in ev'ry ſtreet,
While we may trace all *Dublin* o'er
Before we find out half a ſcore.

You ſee my arguments are ſtrong,
I wonder you held out ſo long;
But ſince you are convinc'd at laſt,
We'll pardon you for what is paſt.

* In *Fingall*, about five miles from *Dublin*.

† In the year 1733, there was an act of parliament made in *Ireland* to bury in woollen.

So —— let us now for whiſt prepare,
Twelve pence a corner if you dare.

A PETITION *to his Grace the Duke of* GRAFTON.

Non Domus et Fundus—— HOR.

By Dean SMEDLEY.

IT was, my lord, the dextrous ſhift,
Of t'other *Jonathan*, viz. *Swift*,
But now St. *Patrick's* ſaucy dean,
With ſilver verge, and ſurplice clean,
Of *Oxford*, or of *Ormond's* grace
In looſer rhyme to beg a place.
A place he got, yclep'd a ſtall,
And eke a thouſand pounds withal;
And, were he a leſs witty writer,
He might as well have got a mitre.

Thus I, the *Jonathan* of *Clogher*,
In humble lays my thanks to offer,
Approach your grace with grateful heart,
My thanks and verſe devoid of art,
Content with what your bounty gave,
No larger income do I crave:

Rejoicing

Rejoicing that in better times
Grafton * requires my loyal lines.
Proud! while my patron is polite,
I likewiſe to the patriot write.
Proud; that at once I can commend
King *George's* and the Muſe's friend,
Endear'd to *Britain* and to thee,
(Disjoin'd *Hibernia*, by the ſea)
Endear'd by twice three anxious years,
Employ'd in guardian toils and cares;
By love, by wiſdom, and by ſkill,
For he has ſav'd thee 'gainſt thy will.

But where ſhall *Smedley* make his neſt,
And lay his wandring head to reſt;
Where ſhall he find a decent houſe
To treat his friends, and chear his ſpouſe?
Oh! lack, my lord, ſome pretty cure,
In wholeſome ſoil, and Æther pure;
The garden ſtor'd with artleſs flowers,
In either angle ſhady bowers.
No gay *Parterre* with coſtly green,
Within the ambient hedge be ſeen:
Let nature freely take her courſe,
Nor fear from one ungrateful force;

* CHARLES FITZROY, duke of *Grafton*, then lord lieutenant of *Ireland*.

No ſheers ſhall check her ſprouting vigour,
Nor ſhape the yews to antic figure:
A limpid brook ſhall trouts ſupply,
In *May* to take the mimic fly;
Round a ſmall orchard may it run,
Whoſe apples redden to the ſun.
Let all be ſnug, and warm, and neat,
For fifty turn'd a ſafe retreat.
A little *Euſton* may it be,
Euſton I'll carve on ev'ry tree.
But then to keep it in repair,
My lord—*twice fifty pounds* a year
Will barely do; but if your grace
Could make them *hundreds*—charming place!
Thou then would'ſt ſhew another face.

Clogher! far north, my lord, it lies,
Midſt ſnowy hills, inclement ſkies;
One ſhivers with the *artic* wind,
One hears the *polar axis* grind.
Good *John** indeed, with beef and claret,
Makes the place warm that one may bear it.
He has a purſe to keep a table,
And eke a ſoul as hoſpitable.

* Dr. JOHN STERNE, biſhop of *Clogher*, predeceſſor to Dr. SWIFT, as dean of St. *Patrick's*.

My

My heart is good, but aſſets fail,
To fight with ſtorms of ſnow and hail;
Beſides the country's thin of people,
Who ſeldom meet, but at the ſteeple:
The ſtrapping dean, that's gone to *Down*,
Ne'er nam'd the thing without a frown,
When much fatigu'd with ſermon ſtudy,
He felt his brain grow dull and muddy;
No fit companion could be found
To puſh the lazy bottle round;
Sure then, for want of better folks,
To pledge, *his clerk* was *orthodox*.

Ah! how unlike to *Gerard-ſtreet*,
Where beaus and belles in parties meet;
Where gilded chairs and coaches throng,
And joſtle as they trowl along;
Where tea and coffee hourly flow,
And gape-ſeed does in plenty grow!
And *Grix* (no clock more certain) cries
Exact at ſeven, *Hot mutton pies*.
There lady *Luna* in her ſphere
Once ſhone, when *Paunchforth* was not near;
Bnt now ſhe wains, and, as 'tis ſaid,
Keeps ſober hours, and goes to bed.
There —— but 'tis endleſs to write down
All the amuſements of the town;

And

And ſpouſe will think herſelf quite undone,
To trudge to *Connor* * from ſweet *London*.
And care we muſt our wives to pleaſe
Or —— elſe we ſhall be ill at eaſe.

You ſee, my lord, what 'tis I lack,
'Tis only ſome convenient tack,
Some parſonage-houſe, with garden ſweet,
To be my late, my laſt retreat;
A decent church cloſe by its ſide,
There preaching, praying, to reſide;
And as my time ſecurely rolls,
To ſave my own and others ſouls.

His GRACE'S *Anſwer.*

By Dr. SWIFT.

DEAR *Smed*, I read thy brilliant lines,
Where wit in all its glory ſhines;
Where compliments with all their pride
Are by their numbers dignify'd:
I hope, to make you yet as clean,
As that ſame, *viz.* St. *Patrick's* dean.
I'll give thee *ſurplice*, *verge*, and *ſtall*,
And may be ſomething elſe withal;

* *Connor* is united to the biſhoprick of *Down*; but here are two deans.

And

And were you not ſo good a writer,
I ſhould preſent you with a mitre.
Write worſe then, *if you can*—Be wiſe—
Believe me, 'tis *the way to riſe.*
Talk not of *making of thy neſt,*
Ah! never lay thy head to reſt!
That head ſo well with wiſdom fraught!
That writes without the toil of thought.
While others wrack their buſy brains,
You are not in the leaſt at pains.
Down to your deanry repair,
And build *a caſtle in the air.*
I'm ſure a man of your fine ſenſe
Can do it with a ſmall expence.
There your *dear ſpouſe*, and you together,
May breath your bellies full of *Æther.*
When *lady Luna* is your neighbour,
She'll help your *wife* when ſhe's in labour.
Well ſkill'd in midwife artifices,
For ſhe herſelf oft' *falls in pieces.*
There you ſhall ſee a *rary-ſhew*,
Will make you ſcorn this *world below*,
When you behold the milky way,
As white as ſnow, as bright as day,
The glitt'ring conſtellations roll
About the grinding *Artick* pole.

The

The lovely tingling in your ears,
Wrought by the muſick of the ſpheres ---
Your ſpouſe ſhall then no longer hector,
You need not fear a curtain lecture;
Nor ſhall ſhe think that ſhe is *undone*
For quitting her beloved *London*.
When ſhe's exalted in the ſkies,
She'll never think of mutton-pies;
When you're advanc'd above *dean*, viz.
You'll never think of goody *Griz*.
But ever, ever live at eaſe,
And ſtrive, and ſtrive *your wife to pleaſe*,
In her you'll center all your joys,
And get ten thouſand *girls* and *boys*:
Ten thouſand girls and boys you'll get,
And they, like ſtars, ſhall *riſe* and *ſet*.
While *you and ſpouſe* transform'd, ſhall ſoon
Be a *new ſun*, and a *new moon*:
Nor ſhall you ſtrive your horns to hide,
For then your horns ſhall be your pride.

Dean SWIFT *at Sir* ARTHUR ACHESON's *in the North of* IRELAND.

THE dean would viſit *Market-Hill*,
Our invitation was but ſlight;
I ſaid,---Why let him, if we will,
And ſo I bid Sir *A---r* write. His

His manners would not let him wait,
Leſt we ſhould think ourſelves neglected;
And ſo we ſaw him at our gate
Three days before he was expected.

After a week, a month, a quarter,
And day ſucceeding after day,
Says not a word of his departure,
Though not a ſoul would have him ſtay.

I've ſaid enough to make him bluſh,
Methinks, or elſe the devil's in't;
But, he cares not for it a ruſh,
Nor, for my life, will take the hint.

But you, my dear, may let him know,
In civil language, if he ſtays,
How deep and foul the roads may grow,
And that he may command the chaiſe.

Or you may ſay—My wife intends,
Though I ſhould be exceeding proud,
This winter to invite ſome friends,
And, Sir, I know, you hate a crowd.

Or, Mr. Dean --- I ſhould with joy
Beg you would here continue ſtill,
But we muſt go to *Aghnagloy* *,
Or, Mr. *Moore* will take it ill.

The houſe accounts are daily riſing,
So much his ſtay doth ſwell the bills;
My deareſt life, it is ſurpriſing,
How much he eats, how much he ſwills.

His brace of puppies how they ſtuff,
And they muſt have three meals a day,
Yet never think they get enough;
His horſes too eat all our hay.

Oh! if I could, how I would maul
His tallow face and wainſcot paws,
His beetle-brows, and eyes of wall,
And make him ſoon give up the cauſe.

Muſt I be every moment chid
With † ſkinny bonia, ſnip and lean;
Oh! that I could but once be rid
Of this inſulting tyrant dean!

* The ſeat of ACHESON MOORE, Eſq;

† The dean uſed to call lady ACHESON by thoſe names.

The STORM; MINERVA'S *Petition.*

PALLAS, a goddeſs chaſte and wiſe,
Deſcending lately from the ſkies,
To *Neptune* went, and begg'd in form
He'd give his orders for a ſtorm;
A ſtorm, to drown that raſcal ——,
And ſhe would kindly thank him for't.
A wretch! whom *Engliſh* rogues to ſpite her,
Had lately honour'd with a Mitre.

The God, who favour'd her requeſt,
Aſſur'd her he would do his beſt:
But *Venus* had been there before
Pleaded the Biſhop lov'd a whore;
And had enlarg'd her empire wide,
He own'd no deity beſide.
At ſea, or land, if e'er you found him,
Without a miſtreſs, hang or drown him.
Since *Burnet's* death, the biſhop's bench,
'Till —— arriv'd ne'er kept a wench;
If --- muſt ſink, ſhe grieves to tell it,
She'll not have left one ſingle prelate:
For to ſay truth, ſhe did intend him,
Elect of *Cyprus* in *commendam.*

And ſince her birth the ocean gave her,
She could not doubt her uncle's favour.

Then *Proteus* urg'd the ſame requeſt,
But half in earneſt, half in jeſt;
Said he —" great ſovereign of the main,
" To drown him all attempts are vain,
" —— can aſſume more forms than I,
" A rake, a bully, pimp, or ſpy.
" Can creep, or run, can fly or ſwim,
" All motions are alike to him:
" Turn him adriſt, and you ſhall find,
" He knows to ſail with ev'ry wind;
" Or, throw him overboard he'll ride
" As well againſt as with the tide.
" But, *Pallas*, you've apply'd too late,
" For 'tis decreed by *Jove* and fate,
" That *Ireland* muſt be ſoon deſtroy'd,
" And who but —— can be employ'd?
" You need not then have been ſo pert,
" In ſending *Bolton* * to *Clonfert*.
" I found you did it by your grinning;
" Your buſineſs is to mind your ſpinning.
" But how you came to interpoſe,
" In making B——s, no one knows.

* Dr. THEOPHILUS BOLTON, afterwards archbiſhop of *Caſhell*.

" And

" And if you muſt have your petition,
" There's *Berkeley* * in the ſame condition;
" Look, there he ſtands, and 'tis but juſt
" If one muſt drown, the other muſt;
" But, if you'll leave us B*iſha*p *Judas*,
" We'll give you *Berkeley* for *Bermudas* †.
" Now, if 'twill gratify your ſpight,
" To put him in a plaguy fright,
" Although 'tis hardly worth the coſt,
" You ſoon ſhall ſee him ſoundly toſt.
" You'll find him ſwear, blaſpheme, and
" damn,
" And ev'ry moment take a dram,
" His ghoſtly viſage with an air
" Of reprobation and deſpair:
" Or, elſe ſome hiding hole he ſeeks,
" For fear the reſt ſhou'd ſay he ſqueeks;
" Or, as *Fitzpatrick* ‡ did before,
" Reſolve to periſh with his W*ine*;
" Or, elſe he raves, and roars, and ſwears,
" And, but for ſhame, would ſay his pray'rs.

* Dr. GEORGE BERKELEY, a ſenior fellow of *Trinity College*, *Dublin*, from whence he was made dean of *Derry*, and afterwards biſhop of *Cloyne*.

† See his ſcheme in his miſcellanies for erecting an univerſity at *Bermudas*.

‡ Brigadier FITZPATRICK was drowned in one of the packet boats in the bay of *Dublin* in a great ſtorm.

" Or, would you ſee his ſpirits ſink,
" Relaxing downwards in a ſt—k?
" If ſuch a ſight as this can pleaſe ye,
" Good madam *Pallas*, pray be eaſy,
" To *Neptune* ſpeak, and he'll conſent;
" But he'll come back the knave he went."
The goddeſs, who conceiv'd an hope,
That — was deſtin'd to a rope,
Believ'd it beſt to condeſcend
To ſpare a foe, to ſave a friend:
But, fearing *Berkeley* might be ſcar'd,
She left him virtue for a guard.

A Portrait

A Portrait of Dr. SWIFT, *preſented to the Univerſity of* Oxford *by the late* JOHN BARBER, *Eſq. is placed in the Picture-gallery there, with this Inſcription:*

IONATHAN SWIFT,
DECAN. S. PATRIC. DVBL.

Effigiem Viri Muſis amiciſſimi,
Ingenio prorſus ſibi proprio celeberrimi,
Ut ipſum ſuis Oxonienſibus aliquatenus redonaret,
Parietem habere voluit Bodleianum,
A. D. MDCCXXXIX,
IOHANNES BARBER, Armiger,
Aldermannus, nec ita pridem Prætor Londinenſis.

In Engliſh:

JONATHAN SWIFT,
DEAN OF S. PATRICK'S DUBLIN.

This portrait of the Muſes' friend,
Of a happy turn of wit, peculiar to himſelf,
That Oxford might in ſome meaſure regain
a genuine Son,
Was thought proper to be placed in the wall of
the Bodleian gallery,
A. D. MDCCXXXIX,
By JOHN BARBER, Eſquire, Alderman,
and ſome time Lord Mayor of London.

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Swift, Jonathan, deſcended from a younger branch of an ancient family in *Yorkſhire*†, *Life*, ii.

1667. *Nov.* 30. born in *Ireland* after the death of his father, who was an Attorney there, and had married in *England Abigail Erick* of *Leiceſterſhire*, *Life*, iv.

* Like that of extracting pardon of ſins from papal indulgencies; for which purpoſe as many (ſome one ſays) are neceſſary, as ſnow-balls to heat an oven.

† "The ONLY SON of that family, "his parents having had *no other chil-* "*dren but a daughter and him*," iv. And ſo ſay the Memoirs of his Life by his kinſman *Deane Swift*, 22. And yet in Mr. *Pope's* works, he ſaies himſelf, he was a YOUNGER SON of a younger branch of that family, vol. ix. lett. xli. He means, I ſuppoſe, the *younger* CHILD *of a younger branch*, having a ſiſter born before him.

1668. Carried to *Whitehaven* by his nurſe, a native of that place, v.

1670. His mother returned to *Leiceſter*; but the ſon ſent ſoon after to *Ireland*, and brought up under the protection of his uncle *Godwin*, a counſellor there, *ibid.*

1673. At ſix years of age ſent to ſchool at *Kilkenny*, vi.

1681. At about XIV years of age admitted in the Univerſity of *Dublin*, *ibid.*

1685. Denied his Batchelor's degree there for inſufficiency, but obtained it at length *ſpeciali gratia*, vii.

1688. On the death of his uncle comes over to his mother at *Leiceſter*, *ibid.*

1690. Received into the Patronage of Sir *W. Temple*, with whom he ſtaid two years at *Sheen* in *Surrey*, viii.

Diſpatched by Sir *W. Temple* to K. *William* at *Kenſington*, to explain to him the effect of Triennial parliaments; ſoon after which he returned to *Ireland* for the recovery of his health, ix.

1692. *Jun.* 14. being returned to *England*, goes out *ad eundem* at *Oxford*, having been admitted at *Hart-Hall*, x.

July 5. took his Maſter's degree there, *ibid.*

Returns to Sir *W. Temple*, who now reſided at *Moore-Park*, near *Farnham*, xii.

1694. Thinking himſelf neglected by his Patron, goes to *Ireland* and takes orders, *ibid.*

Preſented by Lord *Capel* to the prebend of *Kilroot*; but was ſoon perſuaded by Sir *W. Temple* to reſign it, and return to him in *England*, xiii.

1699. Sir *W. Temple* dying, *Swift* preſents a memorial to K. *William*, reminding him of his promiſe to promote him to a prebend of *Canterbury* or *Weſtminſter*, but without effect, xiii, xiv.

Invited by Lord *Berkley* to go with him as Chaplain and Secretary to *Ireland*; but turned out of the latter office to make room for one *Buſh*, xiv.

Rejected from being made Dean of *Derry*, and preſented to the livings of *Laracor* and *Rathbeggin*, *ibid.*

1701. Invites to *Laracor* Miſs *Johnſon*, the daughter of Sir *W. Temple's* ſteward, xvi.

Takes his Doctor's degree in *Ireland*, and in the following year goes into *England*, xvii.

From that time to 1708 makes frequent excurſions from one kingdom to the other, but publiſhes nothing, xviii.

Intended

Intended by Q. *Anne* for a Biſhoprick, but obſtructed by Archbiſhop *Sharpe*, *ibid.*

1709. Becomes acquainted with Miſs *Vanhomrigh* in *London*, and grows by degrees into a kind of preceptor to her, who in time makes propoſals of marriage to him, which he could not comply with by reaſon of his private engagement with Miſs *Johnſon*; which is the ſubject of his Poem, intituled *Cadenus and Vaneſſa*, p. xxx.

1710. Impowered by the Primate of *Ireland* to ſolicit the queen to exonerate the Clergy of *Ireland* from paying the twentieth part of their Firſt Fruits, *ibid.* See *Firſt Fruits*.

On this occaſion careſſed by ſecretary *Harley*, and his miniſtry, xix.

1713. Rewarded with the Deanry of St. *Patrick's*, xxii.

Preſerves an independency even among the great, xxv.

His munificence, xxvii.

His political principles, *ibid.*

1716. Marries Miſs *Johnſon*, the *Stella* of his Poems, but never owns her as his wife, or cohabits with her, xxxvi, xxxvii.

1723. *Vaneſſa*, after her mother's death, followed *Swift* to *Ireland*, and preſſing him afreſh to marriage, extorts from him the ſecret of his being married to *Stella*, which occaſions her death, xxxviii, xxxix.

1716 to 1720. Suppoſed to have written *Gulliver's* Travels, xl.

1720. Begins to be conſidered by the *Iriſh* as their patriot, xlii.

1726 and 1727. Was in *London*, when an offer was made him of ſettling among his friends within twelve miles of it, xlvi.

Upon the news of *Stella's* ſickneſs returns to *Ireland*, and, on her recovery, to *England* again, *ibid.*

1727. Kiſſed the hands of K. *George* II and his Queen on their acceſſion to the throne, by whom he was deſigned to have been ſent abroad in ſome employ, xlvii.

Returns again to *Ireland* on the news of *Stella's* laſt ſickneſs, xlviii.

After her death grows a recluſe and moroſe, and deſcribes himſelf in a *Latin* verſe, which has a falſe quantity in it, and is for that reaſon the more expreſſive of the malady he laboured under, li, lii.

1729. Employed in reading over *Baronius's* Annals; a probable reaſon for the report of his going through a voluminous courſe of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, xl.

1741. Grows incapable of converſation, lvii.
1745. *Octob.* Dies, in the 78th year of his age, lix.
His character, lx to the end.
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The ideas which appear in his writings are often coarſe, but never obſcene; rarely attended with thoſe *double entendre's*, which men of wit generally indulge themſelves in. See *his works throughout.*
Swiftiana. See *Bons Mots*, iii. 393—411. iv. 284—307.
Satyriſts uſe the public as pedants do a naughty boy ready horſed for diſcipline; firſt expoſtulate, then plead the neceſſity of the rod, and conclude every period with with a laſh, i. 33, 34. Wits are like razors, which are moſt apt to cut thoſe who uſe them when they have loſt their *edge*, 35. The world ſooneſt provoked to praiſe by laſhes, as men to *love*, 36. Wiſdom is a fox, which, after long hunting muſt be *dug* out at laſt, 56. A cheeſe, which, by how much the richer, has the coarſer coat, and its maggots the beſt; or like a ſack-poſſet, in which the deeper you go, it is the ſweeter; or a hen, whoſe cackling muſt be valued and conſidered, becauſe attended with an egg; or a nut, which, unleſs choſen with judgment, may coſt a tooth, and pay with nothing but a worm, *ibid.* 57. A critic, who reads only to cenſure, is as barbarous as a judge who ſhould reſolve to hang all that came before him, 89. Critics improve writers, as the Nauplians learnt the art of pruning from an aſs's browſing their vines, 96. Like a ſpecies of aſſes formed with horns, and replete with gall, *ib.* Like a ſerpent in *India*, found among the mountains where jewels grow; which has no teeth to bite, but its vomit, to which it is much addicted, corrupts every thing it touches, 98. A critic in youth will be a critic in old age, and, like a whore and an alderman, never changes his title or his nature, 99. Sets up with as little expence as a taylor, and with like tools and abilities. The taylor's *bell* is the type of a critic's common-place-book, and his wit and learning are held forth by the *gooſe*; and as many of the one ſpecies go to make a man, as of the other to make

make a ſcholar, i. 101. Their writings called the *mirrors* of learning, and, like the mirrors of the ancients, made of braſs, without mercury, 102. The firſt reſult of a critic's mind, like the fowler's firſt aim, the ſureſt, 103. He is carried to the nobleſt writers by inſtinct, as a rat to the beſt cheeſe, or a waſp to the faireſt fruit, *ibid.* In the peruſal of a book, is like a dog at a feaſt, whoſe thoughts and ſtomach are ſet upon what the gueſts fling away, and conſequently ſnarls moſt, when there are feweſt bones, *ibid.* Men in misfortune are like men in the dark, to whom all colours are alike, 140. Diſputants are for the moſt part like unequal ſcales, the gravity of one ſide advancing the lightneſs of the other, 148. Digreſſions in a book are like foreign troops in a ſtate, which argue the nation to want a heart and hands of its own, and often ſubdue the natives, or drive them into the moſt unfruitful corners, 152. Some know books, as they do lords; learn their titles exactly, and then brag of their acquaintance; or by inſpecting the index, by which the whole book is governed and turned, like fiſhes by the tail; *the eel of ſcience being held by it*, 154. Arts are in a flying march, and more eaſily ſubdued by attacking them in the rear; and men catch knowledge by throwing their wit on the poſteriors of a book, as boys do ſparrows, with flinging ſalt upon their tails, *ibid.* The ſciences are found like *Hercules's* oxen, by tracing them backwards, and *old ſciences* are unravelled like old ſtockings, by beginning at the foot, 155. Cant and viſion are to the ear and eye what tickling is to the touch, 187. It is with human faculties as with liquors, the lighteſt will be ever at the top, 202. Satire is a glaſs, wherein beholders diſcover every body's face but their own, 245. Wit without knowledge a ſort of cream, which gathers in the night to the top, and by a ſkilful hand may be ſoon whipped into a froth; but once ſcummed away, what appears underneath will be fit for nothing but to be thrown to the hogs, 246. Certain fortune-tellers in *North America* read a man's deſtiny by peeping into his breech, i. 333. Writers of travels, like dictionary-makers, are ſunk into oblivion by the weight and bulk of thoſe who come laſt, and therefore lie uppermoſt, ii. 532. Opinions, like faſhions, deſcend from thoſe of quality down to the vulgar, where they are dropped and vaniſhed, iii. 141. In

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* "A deſigned banter upon all that "is eſteemed ſacred among men," ſays Dr. *Wotton*. "A libel on Chriſtiani-"ty,' ſays the author of *The Independent Whig*; while it is in fact a vindication of our eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, which is the tile *The Independent Whig* gives to his own book, while it is in fact a libel on Chriſtianity. BROWN's *Eſſay on Ridicule*.

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